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Causes and Consequences of the WAR OF 1914

(WITH SEVEN MAPS)

By HOWARD PITCHER OKIE

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Causes and Consequences

of the

War of 1914

By

HOWARD PITCHER OKIE

Member of the Bar of the Supreme Court of New York and of the Honorable Society of Lincolns Inn (Eng.)

ILLUSTRATED BY SEVEN MAPS

1914

THE WASHINGTON PUBLISHING COMPANY

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CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR OF 1914

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

As this book goes to the press, Belgium, the importance of whose existence as a factor in the maintenance of European peace can not be over-estimated, is in the possession of Germany. If this occupation is continued, it means that forty miles instead of three hundred and forty miles will separate Germany from England, and that the little island will, while that condition continues, be in danger of being over-run by the invading forces of her Teuton neighbor. England is not adapted to the permanent maintenance of a large body of regular troops. Such a burden would impose an impossible drain upon her industrial life. She has regarded *distance* from her most powerful continental rival as one of two indispensable attributes of safety; her fleet was the other. No treaty with Belgium or France had to be invoked to spur Britain on to war when the littoral of the English Channel was menaced by German occupation. Self-preservation caused her, first, to endeavor to have Germany regard the neutrality of Belgium

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as inviolate and to confine her operations in France to the southern and central provinces, and, second, when such efforts had failed to enter upon this battle for her very existence.

A citizen of another state may assume that England has guaged her position correctly; if she has—if the oft expressed forebodings of Lord Roberts find fulfilment—then England, in spite of all her glorious achievements in the cause of liberty and human advancement; the abolition of slavery in her own colonies by honorable purchase not by a fratricidal war; her suppresion of the slave trade in the Atlantic, and of piracy in the Yellow Seas; her noble work in Egypt, where millions have cause to bless her for daily bread; her unselfish exercise of her unpaid and thankless task as "policeman of the world;" in spite of all these works—and many others—this champion of the oppressed and exemplar of popular liberty may be effaced from the political map of the World. This once solid rock of human liberty may yet be hurled into outer space and darkness to find her last affinities in silence and in cold.

The *facts* underlying this war are certain. Probably, never before has there been so little conflict in regard to the statement of premises. Hence, from the diplomatic correspondence which I have inserted in this volumn, ***in extenso***, one

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reading it carefully, may be in a position of absolute knowledge. The opposing nations have drawn (as you or I may draw) different conclusions from the same facts. For example, Russia and Germany are agreed that Russia mobilized her troops near the German frontier during the course of negotiations. The agreement stops there. Russia contends that her mobilization was not threatening in character, but a purely defensive measure dictated only by prudence; that the means of transportation within her vast empire were not so adequate as those possessed by her western neighbors and she could not—if avoidable—take an even start with them. Germany took an entirely different view of Russia's action and made that a cause of war which may have been only a legitimate exercise of prevision and caution.

It is certain that Germany and England desired to keep the peace with each other; but, some one country blundered; to place the responsibility, one must know what transpired between the several countries in the shape of official communications exchanged between their accredited representatives. One who is not disposed to take the trouble involved in the acquisition of this knowledge should at least keep out of the argument. Here is an illustration: In the left hand column below is

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Mr. Bernard Shaw's criticism of his government. In the column parallel to it is an excerpt from official documents which were readily available to Mr. Shaw when he wrote his diatribe.

From an article by Mr. Bernard Shaw appearing in the American Press, September 6, 1914:

"Had the government or the labor party had a real modern foreign policy, Mr. Asquith might have said fearlessly to Prussian militarism: 'If you attempt to smash France, we two will smash you if we can. But if you will drop your mailed fist nonsense and be neighborly, we will guarantee you against Russia just as heartily as we now guarantee France against you.' Can it be doubted that if this had been said resolutely, and with the vigorous support of all sections of the house, Potsdam would have thought twice and thrice before declaring war?"

Extract from a letter from Sir Edward Grey to Sir William Goschen (Ambassador to Germany), dated July 29, 1914:

"I said to the German Ambassador (in London), this morning that if Germany could get any reasonable proposal put forward which made it clear that Germany and Austria were striving to preserve European peace, and that Russia and France would be unreasonable if they rejected it, *I would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris*, and go the length of saying that if Russia and France would not accept it his Majesty's Government would have nothing more to do with the consequence, but otherwise, I told German Ambassador that if France became involved we should be drawn in. (*Vide p.* 44.)

The language in the right hand column is simply a paraphrase of Mr. Shaw's proposition, with only those inevitable differences which distinguish the language of statecraft from that of popular journalism.

It was not the original purpose of the author to

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touch upon the subject of the interdependence of nations with similar ideals of human liberty; but, the fact that an active anti-English propaganda is now being carried on in the United States is irresistibly provocative.

Within a clearly defined limit the advocacy of the German cause in America is decidedly useful. It clears away numerous doubts and shows sharply and clearly the totally different aspects of the moral obligations of one who is a citizen of a free country from those of one who acknowledges the sovereignty of another who rules by "divine right."

The "case for Germany" in this country has been entrusted to able hands; to men who have distinguished themselves in science, arms, commerce and journalism. That the arguments put forth by them are puerile in the extreme is not sufficient to overcome a presumption of their wisdom which rests upon their past performances in their respective fields of employment.

It does, however, have the disquieting effect of making us believe that certain distinguished scientists, soldiers, men of affairs and journalists regard us as fools.

Take a concrete instance of this advocacy. In a recent message from Mr. Herman Ridder, which appeared originally in his paper, the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, but which has been reprinted in the

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American papers with an unanimity that is wonderful in view of the fact that he describes them as an "English-tainted press;" he seeks to revive to Germany's advantage the quarrel which the American Colonies had with the "mother country" some hundred and fifty years ago.

The people of the United States have not brooded over that quarrel. Their time has been too fully occupied with other things; but, as the Teutonic protagonists seem to think that it would be well for their cause, let us go back to our school days.

In the last half of the eighteenth century the British throne was occupied by King George, a fat, foolish, German Prince, the third of the Hanover line. He succeeded his grandfather, George the Second, a German who never became sufficiently English to speak that language; the mother of George the Third was a German woman, the Princess Augusta, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; at the period during which he reigned, kings governed in England, as they do today in Germany, by "divine right," and, when George, in his sublime egotism and folly, pursued an oppressive course toward the handful of his subjects then forming the American Colonies, the English people who subscribed to his belief in kingly infallibility had no course but to acquiesce, save that now and again

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a Pitt or a Burke gave ineffectual tongue in the House of Commons to the British conscience which had no adequate means to express itself at the polls. When in the course of his war against the American colonies it seemed necessary to George the Third to utilize the services of paid assassins to devastate the hearths and homes of those of whom he was the sworn protector, he turned to his own—really his own—country, Germany, and thousands of professional murderers were readily recruited to wage a merciless war upon a people with whom they had no quarrel—of whose very existence they had been previously ignorant.

There are old men alive today in New Jersey who can tell tales that came first-hand from their grandfather's lips of atrocities committed by the Hessians which will reflect in many details the cruelties inflicted by the German troops upon the peace-loving Belgians of this very day, whose only crime is that they put their national honor above an ignoble love of peace.

The foregoing is not a pretty or pleasant story. The people of this country were glad to forget the whole horrible affair of the German invasion of America. That an intelligent man should deliberately recall it, in the expressed hope that it would advance Germany in the sympathies of the American people, is surprising. It is an extreme instance of unwise advocacy.

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When the never-robust mind of George the Third gave away to utter madness, there was, in England, born the new era of national—as distinguished from individual—responsibility. From the days of the Regency, England has had no trouble with her Colonies; she also entered, at that eventful period, upon an era of international peace (since unbroken upon the continent of Europe save by the Crimean War), that was unexampled during her previous life under kings who ruled as well as reigned and which continued down to that night of the 3rd of August, 1914, when the German eagles entered the peaceful plains and villages of Belgium.

Again; the bugbear of Pan-Slavism is invoked to frighten us—vicariously. It would seem that those engaged in advocating Germany's cause in America must realize that we are a highly educated people. Why address to us arguments which could only appeal to—say, the inhabitants of Western China—Thibet? When have "a people" destroyed the world's peace?

France did not devastate Europe during the period of the Napoleonic wars. Napoleon, in his vain attempt to establish "a dynasty" led his polyglot army for the glory of the house of Bonaparte, not for the peculiar aggrandisement of the French. The peace of the world has no reason to

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fear the Teutons, except they be the blind instrument of a Hohenzollern or a Hapsburg. The erection of a great Slav Empire south and east of Prussia may retard the expression of the ambition of an individual ruler to the north and west. It will not stop human progress. We have no fear of Demos; it is Ego, with his murderous cult of the unimportance of the masses and of the supremacy of the individual when the progress of a kingly ruler is concerned, from whom we rush to shield ourselves. If the new Slav state will be used disastrously to further the personal ambitions of Nicholas of Russia and other wars result, our tears will be shed for suffering humanity, not because of the diminishing of the glory of the other ruling European house.

One other instance will suffice to show the total inability of the adherent of military autocracy as represented by the supporters of Germany in this war, to understand the view point of the American.

England is attacked because when in occupation of India she punished certain of those responsible for the "black hole of Calcutta" with instantaneous death. They were fastened to the mouths of cannons and blown to pieces. Civilization has made much progress since then, but is yet unable to suggest a death more painless and swift. If men of the Southern States of America had to

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avenge the murderers and ravishers of their wives and daughters as did the British officials who devised this punishment, it would have taken a more unpleasant form. But, in order to understand the German view, we must not forget that the victims of the sepoys were largely of the civilian class, and were innocent of any provocation. If in defense of hearth and home an Indian had fired upon an invading soldier, in a German uniform, it would no doubt, from a German standpoint, have been eminently proper for him to receive a punishment no more merciful than that which the Germans visited upon the civilian defenders of Louvaine.*

This sacro-sanctity of the man in uniform exists in the German mind only where the uniform of the Kaiser is concerned. That is wholly good, so far as it goes.

During the Boer War, General Kronje and his laagers were surrounded and some thousands of active combatants, none of whom wore uniforms, surrendered to the British. Suppose they had been shot out of hand, as were the civilian defenders of Belgian and French towns, what a howl of protest would have gone up from Germany! And Germany would have been right.

In such a wise the spokesmen of Germany's

* See note p. 124.

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cause in this country have spoken the last word in foolish advocacy, but even had they spoken "with the tongues of angels" they have chosen the wrong forum. If they would truly serve Germany, Potsdam, not New York, should be the auditorium of their eloquence—incidentally it might be the scene of their martyrdom. Let them dissuade official Germany from the policy of laying mines in the open sea to the hazard of neutral shipping; from their course of treating heroic civic defenders as malefactors; from dropping bombs from a height safe to the aviator, upon cosmopolitan cities like Antwerp and Paris, and, if they are successful, they will have rendered Germany a real and substantial service.

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CHAPTER II

CAUSES OF THE WAR

From the day upon which Germany rejected the offer of Mr. Winston Churchill (the First Lord of the British Admiralty), to enter into a truce, during which the struggle between the two countries for superiority of naval armament would be suspended,* war between England and Germany has been imminent. The strain upon the two countries engaged in the unprofitable rivalry had been intolerable. The steadily increasing burden fell upon all, and was not made the less wearisome by the slightest prospect of relief. Heavy land and income taxes were evolved in England and the German chancellor was compelled to make a

* Addressing the House of Commons upon the Naval Estimates, March 18, 1912, Mr. Churchill said: "It is clear that this principle could be varied to suit the circumstances. Let me make it clear, however, that any retardation or reduction in German construction within certain limits will be promptly followed here, as soon as it is apparent, by large and fully proportionate reduction. For instance, if Germany likes to drop out any one, or even two, of these dreadnaughts (battleships) from her annual quotas and keep her money in her own pocket for the enjoyment of her own people and for the development of her own prosperity, we will at once, in the absence of any dangerous development elsewhere and not now foreseen, drop out our corresponding quota. All slowing down by Germany will be accompanied, naturally on a larger scale by us."

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direct levy, not only upon income, but upon the capital of each individual.

Naval and military rivalry has been the real and underlying cause of the Anglo-German conflict. Still it is profitable to know the proximate, or immediate causes of the war, and from them to determine, each for himself, the responsibility of those to whom, by birth or popular choice, have been committed the solemn duties of safeguarding the welfare of those men, women and children suffering in this calamitous hour, the awful, the unspeakable horrors of war.

International law is written in treaties and "conventions." They embody provisions, which in their multiplicity, in the old world, at least, provide a rule of conduct for almost every condition arising in inter-state relations. Among the most important of these sources of the organic law of Europe is that known as the Treaty of Berlin. That treaty was promulgated in 1878, at the close of Austro-Turkish war. The provisions directly related to this war of 1914 were:

1. The creation of a vassal state within the territorial limits now known as Bulgaria, with the right to the inhabitants to "freely elect" their own "prince." The suzerain power was Turkey, who was empowered to collect a yearly tribute and an annual contribution to the Ottoman national

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debt. Neither of these obligations were ever met in any degree.

2. The two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were taken from Turkish control and put in the custody of Austria, with a right in the dual monarchy of "military occupancy and administration."

The latter clause of the treaty turned over to Austrian stewardship the domestic affairs of nearly two million people of Servian stock, for the major part adherents of the orthodox Greek Church; the state religion of Austria is Roman Catholic.

Contemporaneously with the Berlin treaty, Austria executed and delivered to Turkey a secret protocol, wherein she declared that her occupation of the two surrendered provinces would be transient and that sooner or later, full Turkish sovereignty would be restored. The Berlin Treaty made no change in the status of the individual citizen of the two provinces and conferred none of the rights or obligations of personal sovereignty upon the Austrian Emperor and the degree of that monarch's suzerainty was jealously watched by Russia, acting as the chief protector of the adherents of the State Church of Russia.

In spite of the fact that Austria's administration of Bosnian affairs was immeasurably better than that which had been inflicted upon the inhabi-

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tants by Turkey, the population have never acquiesced in the Austrian domination. Their political hopes looked to a complete political and social amalgamation of all the Balkan Serbs, those of Southern Austria (where, previous to the last Balkan War, there were more Serbs than in Servia), Montenegro, Roumelia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Servia proper. The Servian ambition has been to erect from these peoples, in the southeast of Europe, a mighty Slavonic Empire under the benevolent tutelage and protection of Russia. This project was made rather more difficult of realization by the transfer of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the cruel, but uncertain grasp of Turkey to the firmer clutch of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with its implacable opposition to the construction of another empire which would overshadow its northern neighbor in importance and power.*

Austria's opposition to the scheme of a Slav empire was expressed in several ways. Within her own dominion she relentlessly pursued the political plotters working for Austria dismemberment. When opportunity seemed present she acquired absolute sovereignty over additional territory to her south and by the well known methods of diplomacy sought to keep the petty Balkan States divided

* See note p. 128.

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and one or more of them in friendly relationship with herself. It is apparent that Turkey was in this behalf an important ally of Austria, and this will account for the extraordinary interest in the material welfare of old Turkey shown by Germany, who very recently, has openly declared that the Teutonic civilization of Western Europe is menaced by the growing strength, resulting from the organization and extraneous alliances of the Slavonic peoples.

The term "Slav" etymologically means a member of an ethnological division. In its popular use it means an adherent of the Greek or "orthodox" Church.

The "Manchester Guardian" (Eng.), in a recent issue says: "Russia is very often called 'the protector of the Slavs,' but the phrase is one of those which people go on repeating without considering whether it is right or wrong. Russia may justly be called the protector of the orthodox, but to give her the title of protector of the Slavs is only partly true. The Poles are Slavs, and they exceed in number the entire population of the Balkan peninsula, yet Russia has consistently oppressed them. The Bohemians are also Slavs, and although a few Russian nationalists have tried to curry favor with them, there is not the slightest chance of Russia risking the life of a single soldier to save

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them, should Austria again treat them harshly or unjustly. The bond between Russia and Servia is religious rather than racial. For Catholic or Protestant Slavs Russia cares nothing.

" 'One rarely hears a Russian speak well of the Poles,' writes a correspondent, 'but they are often enthusiastic when they talk of Servians and Bulgarians.' 'In Belgrade and Sofia I went into the churches, and the effect upon me was overwhelming,' said a Russian publicist, 'the services were just like those at home, and as I looked at the people around me, I felt more than I had ever done before that they were truly my brothers.' In the churches of Warsaw or Prague the good man would doubtless have felt that Poles or Bohemians were even more distant cousins than he had been led to think. The influence of religion in international politics is far stronger than is generally believed."

No doubt, the writer referred to rigid, formal and non-ethical religions, of which the Greek Church is an extreme type. Teaching that all beyond its pale are anathema, that church strengthens the bond of affection between its communicants by the simple process of narrowing and thus intensifying it. How strong this tie is may hardly be realized by one who has been taught the broader humanity which naturally develops through an

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emancipation from rigid formalism in worship. The tie of brotherhood between adherents of the Greek Church is intensely strong because intensely narrow and concentrated. It has not been weakened by diffusion.

For many years, this struggle between Teuton and Slav has persisted. It has been marked by plot and counterplot; by assassination (the Serb's natural weapon), and by irritating but not always effectual reprisals by Austria.

In 1908, the time seemed opportune for Austria to strike another blow to the Pan-Slav project. In flagrant disregard of her treaty obligations, she proclaimed her absolute sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the month of October of that year Europe hung upon the brink of war. A wail of sorrow and a cry for help went up from the Balkans. England officially characterized Austria's action as an outrage upon the law of nations, and the peace of the world. Montenegro issued a proclamation of national sorrow. But Austria had counted upon two factors working for the toleration of her action, and she created a third. Turkey was in the throes of revolution and Russia was prostrate after her war with Japan. Austria incited Prince Ferdinand to disregard the treaty by which Bulgaria had been created a state, and to proclaim himself "czar," free and

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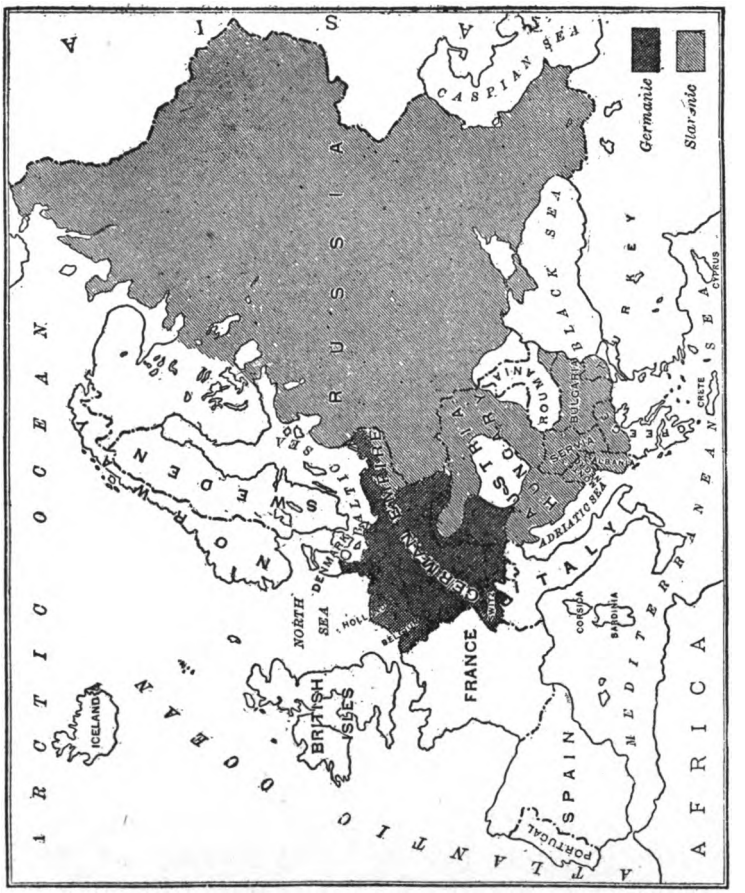

MAP SHOWING GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TEUTONIC AND SLAVONIC RACES.

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independent of Turkey. His new status was instantly recognized by Austria and at this price unanimity of action by the Balkan States was avoided. While the windows of the Austrian embassy were being broken in Belgrade by an angry Servian mob clamoring for war, Ferdinand, the new "Emperor" in Sofia was arranging for a fraternal visit to Franz Josef in Vienna. At the last moment Servia gave way, so the "coup" by which Austria made her seven million Servian subjects into nine million, was successful.

The imminent danger of an Austro-Servian outbreak kept the world on tenterhooks of suspense throughout the long and dangerous period of the first Balkan war. Austria, which had reckoned on Turkey's victory over the Balkan League, witnessed without intervening, the occupation, by Servian troops, of the Sandjak of Novi Bazar, a strip of land ninety miles long by forty miles wide, lying between Servia and Montenegro, and linking Turkey to Bosnia. The Sandjak had been evacuated by Austria on the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. It was not until Servia began agitating for a port on the Adriatic that Austria-Hungary put her foot down, and her resolve to keep the Servians from the sea-coast brought about the creation of an independent Albania.

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SERVIA BEFORE THE BALKAN WARS.

SERVIA AFTER THE BALKAN WARS.

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The violent incorporation of an additional hostile element within the Austrian Empire had not made for the security and peace of that State. More active than ever became those agitators who preached and worked for a great union of "orthodox" Slav people. The persistence and the importance of this agitation were more than realized by Germany. It became an obsession to her and the teutonic state, wholly missing the religious element in the "pan-Slav" movement, firmly believed that it had for its ultimate purpose the subjugation of the alien peoples of Europe, whereas in truth and in fact, separation, political and social, was the mainspring of the pact binding the Balkan States together and which had the warm approval of Russia.*

Up to the present this projected union of states has been known as "Greater Servia." If it ever materializes it will be composed of three elements, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—distinguishable from each other only by dialects and customs.

This proposed Slav nation will number 12,365,000, exclusive of possible accessions from Russia, Poland and Germany. In Southern Germany there are half a million Serbs!

Servia found herself with immensely increased territory and immensely increased prestige as the

* See note p. 128.

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outcome of the two Balkan wars. But the knowledge that these results had been achieved in spite of Austria only increased the bitterness of feeling between the two countries.

At last, the Slav conspirators dealt a blow to the succession of the House of Hapsburg. In a particularly brutal and characteristically Servian fashion, the Archduke Ferdinand, heir presumptive to the Austrian throne, and his wife (remember Alexander and Draga), were brutally murdered on the 5th day of July, 1914. It is accepted generally that the crime was Servian in origin, and was a part of a plot to establish a "Greater Servia" through the partial dismemberment of Austria.

Into a dangerous mass of animosity accumulated on either side of the Danube, the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand fell like a flaming torch. It obviously decided Austria-Hungary to clear up finally the perpetual menace of this small but expanding Slav State growing up at her very gates.

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CHAPTER III

GREAT POWERS ARE INVOLVED

The heir to the Austrian throne and his wife were mudered at Sarajevo, capital of the Austrian province of Bosnia, by a Servian sympathizer. The Austrian Government declares that the murder was the result of a plot hatched in Belgrade, the Servian capital.

Austria demanded that Servia should put an end to "Greater Servia" plots and punish Servian accomplices of the Sarajevo assassination named by Austria, these and other measures to be supervised by Austria, and a reply to be made by 6 p. m. on Saturday.

Servia replied a few minutes before 6 p. m. on Saturday. She accepted all the Austrian demands save one, that Austrian representatives should take part in an investigation in Servia of the origin of the Sarajevo plot. Servia asked for further information on this point. Nevertheless, Austria considered that the reply was unsatisfactory and declared war.

The following diary shows the march of events:

Friday, July 24. Austrian note presented to Servia.

Saturday, July 25. Servian reply received and

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deemed unsatisfactory. Austrian Minister leaves Belgrade. King Peter of Servia and his Government leave Belgrade for Kragujeracs. Servia begins mobilizing. Partial mobilization in Austria. "War fever" demonstrations in Berlin.

Monday, July 27. Servian troops reported to have fired on Austrians. Kaiser returns to Potsdam from Norway. Montenegro mobilizes in support of Servia. Money crisis in Berlin. Sir E. Grey suggests conference of Ambassadors.

Tuesday, July 28. Austria declares war on Servia. Servian shipping on the Danube seized. Sir E. Grey's peace plan superseded by "conversations" between Austria and Russia at St. Petersburg. Increased run on German banks. Military preparations in France. War demonstrations in Berlin.

Wednesday, July 29. All Europe arming. Bridge over the Danube between Semlin and Belgrade blown up by Servians. Belgrade shelled by Austrians. Russia mobilizing 1,200,000 on the Austrian frontier. French President arrives in Paris from Scandinavia. The Kaiser holds an all-night war conference. Austrian Emperor issues manifesto to his people in which he denounces Servia's "flame of hatred for myself and my House." London Stock Exchange crisis. Continental Bourses closed. Mr. Asquith describes the situation as one of "extreme gravity."

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Thursday, July 30. Germany demands unqualified explanation of Russia's menacing mobilization on the German and Austrian frontiers. Engagements between Servians and Austrians on the frontier. Reported Austrian defeat at Foca.

Russia was not in a position to face the menace of a European war in 1908 when Austria last imposed her will on Servia. But 1914 finds a stronger and a richer Russia, a Russia whose position in the Balkans has been immensely strengthened by the increased military efficiency of Servia and Rumania. Should Russia regard the challenge of the Austrian note as directed against herself and meet ultimatum with ultimatum, Germany must by the terms of the Triple Alliance step in, while France ranges herself by the side of Russia. The appalling conflagrations which would then inevitably result could not leave Great Britain indifferent.

August 1. Germany declared war upon Russia.

August 3. Germany declared war against France and invaded Belgium in controvention of the neutrality treaty.

August 4. Great Britain declared war upon Germany.

August 23. Japan declared war upon Germany.

August 27. Austria severed diplomatic relations with Japan.

September 19. Italy mobilized her army.

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CHAPTER IV

ENGLAND'S INTERVENTION

Theoretically, war between France and Germany without British intervention was possible. Such a war would, however, have been fruitless for Germany as it would have offered no possibilities for the extension of the German littoral upon the North Sea. To attain this object it was also necessary to provoke Belgium into war. This was done by violating the treaty of 1839 in which Germany had solemnly guaranteed the inviolateness of Belgian territory.

[In addition to the guarantees against the invasion of Belgium contained in the treaty of 1839, that country thought herself further safeguarded by the agreement entered into by the same governments in 1870, by the terms of which Great Britain, France and Germany severally bound themselves to actively co-operate with Belgium in the event of a violation of Belgium neutrality by any one or two of the other three countries last named.]

Just as this stage negotiations between Germany and Britain were rapidly drawing to a close. They are summarized in the statement made by Sir Edward Grey (Foreign Secretary), in the Brit-

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ish House of Commons on the 27th of July: "Last Friday morning I received from the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador the text of the communication made by the Austro-Hungarian Government to the Powers, which has appeared in the Press, and which included textually the demand made by the Austro-Hungarian Government upon Servia.

"In the afternoon I saw other Ambassadors and expressed the view that as long as the dispute was one between Austro-Hungary and Servia alone I felt that we had no title to interfere, but that if the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia became threatening the question would then be one of the peace of Europe—a matter that concerned us all.

"I did not then know what view the Russian Government had taken of the situation, and without knowing how things were likely to develop I could not make any immediate proposition; but I said that, if relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia did become threatening, the only chance of peace appeared to me to be that the four Powers—Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain—who were not directly interested in the Servian question should work together both in St. Petersburg and in Vienna simultaneously to get both Austro-Hungary and Russia to arrange a settlement.

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"After I had heard that Austria-Hungary had broken off diplomatic relations with Servia, I made by telegraph yesterday afternoon the following proposal as a practical method of applying the views that I had already expressed.

"I instructed his Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Berlin and Rome to ask the Governments to which they were accredited whether they would be willing to arrange that the French, German and Italian ambassadors in London should meet me in a conference to be held in London immediately to endeavor to find a means of arranging the present difficulties.

"At the same time, I instructed his Majesty's ambassadors to ask those Governments to authorize their representatives in Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Belgrade to inform the Governments there of the proposed conference and to ask them to suspend active military operations pending the result of the conference.

"It must be obvious to any person who reflects upon the situation that the moment the dispute ceases to be one between Austria-Hungary and Servia and becomes one in which another Great Power (Germany) is involved it can but end in the greatest catastrophe that has ever befallen the Continent of Europe at one blow; no one can say what would be the limit of the issues that

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might be raised by such a conflict; the consequences of it, direct and indirect, would be incalculable."

Three days later Sir Edward supplemented the foregoing by saying: "I regret I can not say the situation is less grave than it was yesterday. The outstanding facts are much the same. Austria has begun war against Servia. Russia has ordered a partial mobilization, which has hitherto not led to any corresponding steps by any other Power, as far as our information goes.

"We continue to pursue one great object, the preservation of European peace, and for this purpose we are keeping in close touch with the other Powers. In thus keeping in touch we have, I am glad to say, had no difficulty so far, though it has not been possible for the Powers to join in diplomatic action as I proposed on Monday."

Telegraphing on July 27 to Sir Edward Grey, the British ambassador says:

"I have had conversations with all my colleagues representing the Great Powers. The impression left on my mind is that the Austro-Hungarian note was so drawn up as to make war inevitable; that the Austro-Hungarian Government are fully resolved to have war with Servia; that they consider their position as a Great Power at stake; and that until punishment has

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been administered to Servia it is unlikely that they will listen to proposals of mediation."

In a despatch of July 27 the British ambassador in Berlin says:

"In the course of a short conversation the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said * * * that if Russia only mobilized in the south Germany would not mobilize, but if she mobilized in the north Germany would have to do so too."

Sir Edward Grey telegraphed to the British ambassador in Vienna, July 27:

"I said (to the Austrian ambassador in London) that it seemed to me as if the Austrian Government believed that, even after the Servian reply (to the Austrian note), they could make war on Servia anyhow without bringing Russia into the dispute. If they could make war on Servia and at the same time satisfy Russia well and good; but if not the consequences would be incalculable * * * Already the effect on Europe was one of anxiety. I pointed out that our fleet was to have dispersed today, but we had felt unable to let it disperse. We should not think of calling up the Reserves at this moment, but there was no menace in what we had done about the fleet * * * It seemed to me that the Servian reply already involved the greatest humiliation to Servia that I had ever seen a country undergo."

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On July 28, according to a despatch from Sir William, Goschen, the German Imperial Chancellor, told him that "a war between the Great Powers must be avoided."

Two days later (July 29) the British ambassador to Germany (Goschen) telegraphed to the British Foreign Minister:

"I found the Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Herr von Jagow) very depressed today * * * He was much troubled by reports of mobilization in Russia and of certain military measures, which he did not specify, in France. He subsequently spoke of these measures to my French colleague, who informed him that French Government had done nothing more than German Government had done—namely, recalled officers on leave. His Excellency denied German Government had done this, but as a matter of fact, it is true."

The same day the British ambassador to Rome sent the following despatch home:

"The German Government are being informed that the Italian Government would not be pardoned by public opinion here unless they had taken every possible step so as to avoid war. He (the Foreign Minister) is urging that the German Government must lend their co-operation in this. I added that there seemed to be a difficulty in making Germany believe that Russia was in earnest."

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In a despatch to the British ambassador in Paris on July 29, Sir Edward Grey says that he told M. Cambon (French ambassador in London) that even if the Austrian-Servian conflict became a question between Austria and Russia, England would not feel called upon to take a hand. If Germany and France became involved "we had not made up our minds what we should do. It was a case that we should have to consider."

After these despatches had been received, Sir Edward Grey sent the following message to Goschen:

"After speaking to the German ambassador this afternoon about the European situation, I said that I wished to say to him in a quite private and friendly way, something that was on my mind. The situation was very grave. While it was restricted to the issues at present actually involved we had no thought of interfering in it. But if Germany became involved in it, and then France, the issue might be so great that it would involve all European interests; and I did not wish him to be misled by the friendly tone of our conversation—which I hoped would continue—into thinking that we should stand aside.

"He said that he quite understood this, but he asked whether I meant that we should, under certain circumstances, intervene.

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"I replied that I did not wish to say that, or to use anything that was like a threat or an attempt to apply pressure by saying that, if things became worse, we should intervene. There would be no question of our intervening if Germany was not involved, or even if France was not involved. But we knew very well that if the issue did become such that we thought British interests required us to intervene, we must intervene at once, and the decision would have to be very rapid, just as the decisions of other Powers had to be. If we failed in our efforts to keep the peace, and if the issue spread so that it involved practically every European interest, I did not wish to be open to any reproach from him that the friendly tone of all our conversations had misled him or his Government into supposing that we should not take action * * * The German ambassador took no exception to what I had said; indeed he told me that it accorded with what he had already given in Berlin as his view of the situation."

Germany then made the proposal to England, characterized by Mr. Asquith as being an infamous attempt to purchase Britain's betrayal of the treaty obligations. The proposal is embodied in the following despatch from Goschen to Grey:

"I was asked to call upon the Chancellor to-night. His Excellency had just returned from Potsdam.

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"He said that should Austria be attacked by Russia, a European conflagration might, he feared, become inevitable, owing to Germany's obligations as Austria's ally, in spite of his continued efforts to maintain peace. He then proceeded to make the following strong bid for British neutrality. He said that it was clear, so far as he was able to judge the main principle which governed British policy, that Great Britain would never stand by and allow France to be crushed in any conflict there might be. That, however, was not the object at which Germany aimed. Provided, that neutrality of Great Britain were certain, every assurance would be given to the British Government that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue.

"I questioned his Excellency about the French Colonies, and he said that he was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect. As regards Holland, however, his Excellency said that, so long as Germany's adversaries respected integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands Germany was ready to give his Majesty's Government an assurance that she would do likewise. It depended upon the action of France what operations Germany might be forced to enter upon in Belgium,

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but when the war was over, Belgian territory would be respected if she had not sided against Germany.

"His Excellency ended by saying that ever since he had been Chancellor the object of his policy had been, as you were aware, to bring about an understanding with England; he trusted that these assurances might form the basis of that understanding which he so much desired. He had in mind a general neutrality agreement between England and Germany, though it was of course at the present moment too early to discuss details, and an assurance of British neutrality in the conflict which present crisis might possibly produce would enable him to look forward to realization of his desire.

"In reply to his Excellency's inquiry how I thought his request would appeal to you, I said that I did not think it probable that at this stage of events you would care to bind yourself to any course of action and that I was of opinion that you would desire to retain full liberty.

"Our conversation upon this subject having come to an end, I communicated the contents of your telegram of today to his Excellency, who expressed his best thanks to you."

Britain's reply to Germany's offer was as follows:

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"His Majesty's Government can not for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal that they should bind themselves to neutrality on such terms.

"What he asks us in effect is to engage to stand by while French Colonies are taken and France is beaten so long as Germany does not take French territory as distinct from the colonies.

"From the material point of view such a proposal is unacceptable, for France, without further territory in Europe being taken from her, could be so crushed as to lose her position as a Great Power and become subordinate to German policy.

"Altogether, apart from that, it would be a disgrace for us to make this bargain with Germany at the expense of France, a disgrace from which the good name of this country would never recover.

"The Chancellor also in effect asks us to bargain away whatever obligation or interest we have as regards the neutrality of Belgium. We could not entertain that bargain either.

"Sir Edward Grey declares that the one way of maintaining the good relations between England and Germany is that they should continue to work together to preserve the peace of Europe. The present crisis safely passed, his own endeavour will be to promote some arrangement to which

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Germany could be a party, assuring her and her allies against any aggressive policy by France.

"In a despatch to Sir William Goschen, dated July 31, Sir Edward Grey suggests that England, France, Germany and Italy might offer to Austria to undertake to see that she obtained full satisfaction of her demands on Servia provided the demands did not impair Servian sovereignty and the integrity of Servian territory. Sir Edward Grey points out that Austria has already agreed to respect them, and says that Russia might be informed by the four disinterested Powers of their offer, all Powers, 'of course,' to suspend further military operations or preparations."

Sir Edward Grey authorizes the ambassador to sound the German Foreign Secretary about this proposal, and adds:

"I said to the German ambassador this morning that if Germany could get any reasonable proposal put forward which made it clear that Germany and Austria were striving to preserve European peace, and that Russia and France would be unreasonable if they rejected it, I would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris, and go the length of saying that if Russia and France would not accept it his Majesty's Government would have nothing more to do with the consequence, but, otherwise, I told German ambassador that if

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France became involved we should be drawn in."

On the 30th of July, 1914, the British ambassador in Vienna telegraphed to Sir Edward Grey: "Although I am not able to verify it, I have private information that the German ambassador knew the text of the Austrian ultimatum to Servia before it was despatched and telegraphed to the German Emperor. I know from the German ambassador himself that he endorses every line of it."

The night of Monday, August 3, found England thoroughly awake to the calamitous position in which she with the rest of Europe was to be involved. The situation was made plain by a masterly address by Sir Edward Grey then delivered in the House of Commons. The Foreign Secretary said:

"I want to approach this crisis from the point of view of British interest, British honour; free from all question as to why peace has not be preserved. We shall publish papers as soon as we can with regard to what took place last week when we were working for peace, and when these papers are published I have no doubt that to every human being they will make it clear how strenuous and genuine and whole-hearted all our efforts for peace were.

"Well, I come first to the question of our treaty

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obligations. I have assured the House, and the Prime Minister has assured the House more than once, that if any crisis such as this arose we should come before the House of Commons and be able to say to the House that it was free to decide what the British attitude should be, and that we would have no secret engagement which we should spring upon the House.

"Well, now, to make this question of obligation clear to the House I must go back first to the Moroccan crisis in 1906. That was the time of the Algeciras Conference. That was a difficult time for the Government, because a general election was in progress. Ministers were scattered over the country, and I spent three days a week in my constituency and three days in the Foreign Office.

"I was asked the question whether, if that crisis developed into a war between France and Germany, we would give armed support. I said then that I could promise nothing unless I was subject to the whole-hearted support of public opinion here when the occasion arose. I said that in my opinion if war was forced upon France upon the question of Morocco—a question which had just been the subject of agreement—that if out of that agreement war was forced upon France at that time in my opinion the public

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opinion of the country would rally to the support of France.

But I made no promise. I expressed the opinion in the same words to the French and the German ambassadors at the time without making any promise. That position was accepted by the French Government, but they said at the time to me and very reasonably, 'If you think it possible that public opinion in Great Britain might, when a sudden crisis arose, justify you in giving to France armed support which you cannot promise in advance, unless between military and naval experts some conversations had taken place, you would not be able to give that support even if you wished when the time comes.'

"There was force in the contention and I agreed to it and authorized those conversations to take place, but on the distinct understanding that nothing which passed between the naval and military experts of either Government in any way restricted our freedom as to whether or not we should give that support when the time arrived. On that occasion a general election was in progress and I had to take the responsibility of what I did because the Cabinet could not be summoned.

"What, then, is our position? We have had for many years a long-standing friendship with France. I remember well the feeling in this House, I re-

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member my own feeling when the late Government made that agreement with France—the warm, cordial feeling resulting from the fact that these two nations who had had perpetual differences in the past had cleared those differences away. How far that friendship entails obligation it is for every individual member of this House to consider for himself. On this point the House must separately and collectively judge for itself.

"The French nation has a fleet which is now in the Mediterranean. The north and west coasts of France are absolutely undefended. With the French fleet in the Mediterranean the situation is very different from what it used to be so far as France is concerned. The friendship which had grown up between the two countries had given them a sense of security that there was nothing to be feared from us.

"My own feeling is this: that if a foreign fleet, engaged in a war which France had not sought, came down the English Channel and bombarded and battered the undefended coast of France we could not stand by.

"With this thing going on under our very eyes we could not stand by with our arms folded, looking on dispassionately, doing nothing. That, I believe, is the feeling of the country. But I want to look at it from the point of view of British in-

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terests, and it is from that point of view that I am going to base and justify what I am presently going to say to the House.

"If we are to say nothing at this moment, what is France to do, with her fleet in the Mediterranean, with her northern and western coasts absolutely undefended, at the mercy of the German fleet coming down the Channel to batter her northern coast? We must remember that we are faced with a war of life and death. It may be that the French fleet will be withdrawn from the Mediterranean. We are in the presence of a European conflagration. Can anyone set limits to the consequences that may arise from it?

"What would be the position of the Mediterranean then? A clear trade through that area is vital. Nobody can say that within the next few weeks there is any particular trade route which may not be vital to this country. What would be the position if we had to keep a fleet in the Mediterranean? What risks from the point of view of British interests would we not run by maintaining our attitude of neutrality?

"Well, Sir, we feel strongly that France is entitled to know, and know at once what our attitude is to be—whether or not in the event of an attack upon her unprotected northern and western coasts she could depend upon British support. And in

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that emergency and under these compelling circumstances yesterday afternoon I gave to the French ambassador the following statement:—

"'I am authorized to give an assurance that if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against the French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power.'

"This assurance is, of course, subject to the policy of his Majesty's Government receiving the support of Parliament, and it must not be taken as binding the Government to take any action until the contingency takes place. So I state this to the House not as a declaration of war on our part, not as entailing immediate aggressive action on our part, but as binding us to take aggressive action should the contingency arise.

"I understand that the German Government would be prepared if we would pledge ourselves to neutrality to agree that its fleet would not attack the northern coasts of France. I only heard that shortly before I came to the House, but it is far too narrow an engagement and there is a more serious consideration, becoming more serious every hour.

"There is the question of the neutrality of Belgium."

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Sir E. Grey proceeded to state that the French Government were resolved to respect the neutrality of Belgium, but that the German Minister for Foreign Affairs had informed Sir E. Goschen, the British ambassador in Berlin, that he doubted if his Government could make any statement upon the undesirable effect of disclosing part of their plan of campaign. The Belgian Government had assured Britain that they would do their utmost to maintain their neutrality. He continued:

"Now there appears the news I have received to-day, though I am not sure how far it has reached me in an accurate form, the news that an ultimatum has been given by Germany to Belgium, the object of which was to offer Belgium friendly relations with Germany on condition that she would facilitate the passage of German troops through Belgium. Till one has this news absolutely definitely, I do not wish to say all that one would say otherwise. We were sounded in the course of last week as to whether if after a war Belgian integrity should be preserved that would have contented us. We replied that we could not bargain away what obligations we had in regard to Belgian neutrality.

"Shortly before I reached the House I was informed that the following telegram has been received from the King of the Belgians by our

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King George:—'Remembering the numerous proofs of your Majesty's friendship and that of your predecessor and the friendly attitude of England in 1870, and the proof of friendship which she has just given us again, I make a supreme appeal for the diplomatic intervention of your Majesty's Government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium.'

"But the diplomatic intervention took place last week on our part. What can diplomatic intervention do now? We have a great and vital interest in the independence of Belgium. If Belgium is compelled to submit to allow her neutrality to be violated the situation is clear.

"Just opposite to us there would be a common interest against the unmeasured aggrandisement of another Power.

"It may be said that we might stand aside, husband our strength, and at the end of the war intervene with effect to put things right and adjust them to our own point of view. If in a crisis like this we run away from those obligations of honour and interest as regards the Belgian Treaty, I doubt whether, whatever material force we might have at the end, it would be of very much value in face of the respect that we should have lost. I do not believe that whether a Great Power stands outside this war or not it is going to be in a position at the end of the war to exert its material influence.

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"For us, with a powerful fleet which we believe is able to protect our commerce, to protect our shores, to protect our interests if we engaged in war, we shall suffer but little more than what we shall suffer even if we stand aside.

"Whether we are in it or whether we stand outside, foreign trade is going to stop not because the trade routes are closed but because there is no trade at the other end. With Continental nations engaged in war—all their population, their energies and their wealth engaged in a desperate struggle—you cannot carry on such a trade as you would carry on in time of peace whether we are parties to the war or whether we are not.

"If we stand aside I don't believe for a moment we shall be in a position to use our material forces to avoid or undo what has happened in the course of the war, to prevent the whole of Western Europe falling under the domination of a single Power, and I am quite sure our moral position will be worse. I am not yet sure that we know all the facts, but if the facts turn out to be as they have reached us up to the present time, it is quite clear that there is an obligation on this country to do its utmost to prevent the consequence to which those facts will lead.

"If we do not take the line I have indicated—and we have to consider Belgian treaty rights, the

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possible position in the Mediterranean, and the results to ourselves and to France through our failure to support her—if we say that these things matter nothing I believe that we should sacrifice our respect, our name, and our reputation, and that we should not escape the most serious economic consequences.

"But I have perhaps said enough to show that we must be prepared. We are prepared for the consequences that may arise from the attitude we have adopted. We are ready to take our part.

"If we are forced, and rapidly forced, to take our stand upon these issues, then I believe when the country realizes what is at stake, what the real issues are, the magnitude of the impending danger in the west of Europe, then I believe we shall be supported throughout not only by the House of Commons but by the determination, the resolution, the courage, and the endurance of the whole country."

After Sir Edward Grey had concluded his speech, the debate was continued as follows:

Mr. Bonar Law (leader of the Opposition) said: "Every one of his Majesty's Dominions Beyond the Seas will be behind us with whatever action it is necessary to take. And this only will I say. The Govermnent already know, but I give them now the assurance on behalf of the party of

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which I am leader in this House that in whatever steps they think it necessary to take for the honour and the security of this country they can rely upon the unhesitating support of the Opposition."

Mr. John Redmond said: "To-day there are in Ireland two large bodies of Volunteers, one of which has sprung into existence in the north and another in the south. I say to the Government that they may to-morrow withdraw every one of their troops from Ireland. Ireland will be defended by her armed sons from foreign invasion, and for that purpose the armed Catholics in the south will be only too glad to join arms with the armed Protestant Ulster men.

"Is it too much to hope that out of this situation a result may spring which will be good, not merely for the Empire, but for the future welfare and integrity of the Irish nation? While Irishmen are in favour of peace and would desire to save the democracy of this country from all the horrors of war, while we will make any possible sacrifice for that purpose, still, we offer this to the Government of the day. They may take their troops away, and if it is allowed to us in comradeship with our brothers in the north, we will ourselves defend the coasts of Ireland."

One discordant note was struck by a repre-

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sentative of the Labor Party in the House. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said he thought the Government was wrong. If Sir Edward Grey said the country was in danger the House would vote him what money he wanted and even offer themselves. He had not persuaded them the country was in danger.

England made one last effort to preserve peace, with honor. In accordance with instructions of August 4, from Sir Edward Grey, secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Ambassador called on the German Secretary of State, Gottlieb von Jagow. He inquired whether Germany would refrain from violating Belgian neutrality.

"Herr von Jagow," the report continues, "at once replied that he was sorry to say his answer must be 'No,' as in consequence of the German troops having crossed the frontier that morning, Belgian neutrality already had been violated."

"Herr von Jagow again went into reasons why the Imperial Government had been obliged to take this step—namely, that they had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations, and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible.

"It was a matter of life or death for them, as, if they had gone by the more southern route they

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could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and the strength of the fortresses, to have got through without formidable opposition, entailing great loss of time.

"This loss of time would mean time gained by the Russians for the bringing up of their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was the inexhaustiable supply of troops.

"I pointed out to Herr von Jagow that this *fait accompli* of the violation of the Belgian frontier rendered, as he would readily understand, the situation exceedingly grave, and I asked him whether there was still not time to draw back and avoid possible consequences which both he and I would deplore. He replied that for reasons he had given me it was now impossible for him to draw back.

"The British ambassador went to the German foreign office again the same afternoon and informed the Secretary of State that unless the Imperial Government could give assurances by 12 o'clock that night they would proceed no further with the violation of the Belgian frontier and stop their advance, he had been instructed to demand his passports and to inform the Imperial Government that his Majesty's Government would have to take all steps in its power to

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uphold neutral Belgium and the observance of the treaty to which Germany was as much a party as Great Britain.

"Herr von Jagow," says the report, "replied that to his great regret he could give no other answer than that which he had given to me earlier in the day, namely, that the safety of the Empire rendered it absolutely necessary that the Imperial troops should advance through Belgium.

"I gave his Excellency a written summary of your telegram, and, pointing out that you had mentioned 12 o'clock as the time when his Majesty's Government would expect an answer, asked him whether, in view of the terrible consequences which would necessarily ensue, it was not possible, even at the last moment, that their answer should be reconsidered. He replied that if the time given was 24 hours or more, his answer must be the same.

"I said that in that case I should have to demand my passports.

"The interview took place about 7 o'clock. In a short conversation which ensued Herr von Jagow expressed his poignant regret at the crumbling of his entire policy and that of the Imperial Chancellor, which had been to make friends with Great Britain and then, through Great Britain, to get closer to France.

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"I said that this sudden end to my work in Berlin was to me also a matter of deep regret and disappointment, but that he must understand that under the circumstances and in view of our engagements his Majesty's Government could not have acted otherwise than it had done."

The ambassador then went to see the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, and he found him very excited.

"The chancellor," says the report, "began a harangue, which lasted about twenty minutes. He said the step taken by Great Britain was terrible to a degree. Just for a word 'neutrality'—a word which in wartime had been so often disregarded—just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation, who desired nothing better than to be friends with her.

"All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy to which, as I know, he had devoted himself since his accession to office, was tumbled down like a house of cards.

"What he had done was unthinkable. It was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen.

"I protested strongly against this statement,

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and said that in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life or death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of life or death for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. A solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could any one have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future?

"The chancellor said: 'But at what price will that compact have been kept? Has the British Government thought of that?'

"I hinted to his Excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking a solemn engagement. But his Excellency was so excited, so evidently overcome by the news of our action, so little disposed to hear reason, that I refrained from adding fuel to the flame by further argument.

"As I was leaving, he said that the blow of Great Britain joining Germany's enemies was all the greater because almost up to the last moment he and his Government had been working with us and supporting our efforts to maintain peace between Austria and Russia.

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"I said that this was part of the tragedy which saw two nations fall apart just at the moment when the relations between them were more friendly and cordial than they had been for years. Unfortunately, notwithstanding our efforts to maintain peace between Austria and Russia, war had spread and brought us face to face with a situation which entailed our separation from our late fellow workers. He would readily understand that no one regretted this more than I."

The British ambassador declares he handed a telegraphic report of the conversation to the telegraph office in Berlin for transmission, but that it never reached the British Foreign Office.

That evening Herr Zimmerman, under Secretary of State, called on Sir William Goschen and asked whether the call for his passports was equivalent to a declaration of war. The ambassador replied that there had been cases where diplomatic relations had been broken off in which war had not ensued, but his instructions showed that if a reply was not received by 12 o'clock, Great Britain would take such steps as her engagements required.

Herr Zimmerman said that it was in fact a declaration of war, as Germany could not give the assurances required. Soon afterward a fly sheet was issued by the *Berliner Tageblatt* stating that

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Great Britain had declared war against Germany.

"Immediately," says the report, "an exceedingly excited and unruly mob assembled before the embassy, and the police were overpowered. We took no notice of this until the crash of glass and the landing of cobblestones in the drawing room, where we were all sitting, warned us that the situation was getting unpleasant."

The ambassador telephoned to the foreign office and police were sent and cleared the street. No more direct unpleasantness occurred. Herr von Jagow called and expressed his regrets. He said the behavior of his countrymen made him feel more ashamed than he could say. He had decided that the news of the declaration of war should not be published until the following morning, and for that reason had only sent a small force of police to protect the embassy.

The next day the Emperor sent an aid with a message, in which the Emperor expressed regret for the occurrences, and also requested the ambassador to tell the King of England that he would at once divest himself of his British titles.

With respect to this message, the ambassador says: "The message lost none of its acerbity by the manner of its delivery."

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On July 31, 1914, France gave Belgium a formal assurance that "no incursion of French troops will take place in Belgium." This assurance was at once communicated by Belgium to Germany with the following pledge from Belgium: "If contrary to our expectations the country's neutrality should be violated by France * * * Belgium and her army would oppose a most vigorous resistance to the invaders."

In 1911, Von Bethman Hollwegg had assured Belgium that in the event of a Franco-German war her neutrality would be sacred. This assurance was repeated by Von Jagow in 1913 and reaffirmed forty-eight hours before Germany delivered the ultimatum to Belgium which precipitated the war with England, and stripped Germany of every vestige of national honor.*

* *Vide* Belgian "Gray Book," published October 5, 1914..

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ift of The People of the United States
Through the Victory Book Campaign
(A. L. A. — A. R. C. — U. S. O.)
to the Armed Forces and Merchant Marine

CHAPTER V

AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM

Germany's view as to the responsibility for the war, apart from the Austria-Servia incident, is embodied in a telegram sent by the instructions of King George to his cousin, the Czar of Russia. The telegram follows:

"Sir Edward Grey to Sir G. Buchanan, St. Petersburg,

Foreign Office,

August 1, 1914, 3:30 a. m.

"You should at once apply for an audience with his Majesty the Emperor, and convey to him the following personal message from the King:

" 'My Government has received the following statement from the German Government:

" 'On July 29 the Russian Emperor requested the German Emperor by telegraph to mediate between Russia and Austria. The Emperor immediately declared his readiness to do so. He informed the Russian Emperor of this by telegraph, and took the required action at Vienna. Without waiting for the result of this action Russia mobilized against Austria. By telegraph the German Emperor pointed out to the Russian Emperor that hereby his attempt at mediation would

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be rendered illusory. The Emperor further asked the Russian Emperor to suspend the military operations against Austria. This, however, did not happen.

" 'In spite of this the German Government continued its mediation in Vienna. In this matter the German Government have gone to the furtherest limit of what can be suggested to a Sovereign State which is the ally of Germany. The proposals made by the German Government in Vienna were conceived entirely on the lines suggested by Great Britain, and the German Government recommended them in Vienna for their serious consideration. They were taken into consideration in Vienna this morning. During the deliberations of the (Austrian) Cabinet, and before they were concluded, the German ambassador in St. Petersburg reported the mobilization of the entire Russian army and fleet.

" 'Owing to this action on the part of Russia the Austrian answer to the German proposals for mediation, which were still under consideration, was not given. This action on the part of Russia is also directed against Germany, that is to say, the Power whose mediation had been invoked by the Russian Emperor. We were bound to reply with serious countermeasures to this action, which we were obliged to consider as hostile, unless we

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were prepared to endanger the safety of our country. We are unable to remain inactive in face of the Russian mobilization on our frontier. We have therefore informed Russia that unless she were prepared to suspend within twelve hours the warlike measures against Germany and Austria we should be obliged to mobilize, and this would mean war. We have asked France if she would remain neutral during a German-Russian war.'

This ends the German statement and King George concludes:

"I can not help thinking that some misunderstanding has produced this deadlock. I am most anxious not to miss any possibility of avoiding the terrible calamity which at present threatens the whole world. I therefore make a personal appeal to you to remove the misapprehension which I feel must have occurred and to leave still open grounds for negotiation and possible peace.

"If you think I can in any way contribute to that all-important purpose, I will do everything in my power to assist in reopening the interrupted conversations between the Powers concerned. I feel confident that you are as anxious as I am that all that is possible should be done to secure the peace of the world."

Reply of the Emperor of Russia to King George:

"I would gladly have accepted your proposals

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had not German ambassador this afternoon presented a note to my Government declaring war. Ever since presentation of the ultimatum at Belgrade, Russia has devoted all her efforts to finding some pacific solution of the question raised by Austria's action. Object of that action was to crush Servia and make her a vassal of Austria. Effect of this would have been to upset balance of power in Balkans, which is of such vital interest to my Empire.

"Every proposal, including that of your Government, was rejected by Germany and Austria, and it was only when favorable moment for bringing pressure to bear on Austria had passed that Germany showed any disposition to mediate. Even then she did not put forward any precise proposal. Austria's declaration of war on Servia forced me to order a partial mobilization, though, in view of threatening situation, my military advisers strongly advised a general mobilization owing to quickness with which Germany can mobilize in comparison with Russia.

"I was eventually compelled to take this course in consequence of complete Austrian mobilization, of the bombardment of Belgrade, of concentration of Austrian troops in Galicia, and of secret military preparations being made in Germany. That I was justified in doing so is proved

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by Germany's sudden declaration of war, which was quite unexpected by me, as I had given most categorical assurance to the Emperor William that my troops would not move so long as mediation negotiations continued.

"In this solemn hour I wish to assure you once more that I have done all in my power to avert war. Now that it has been forced on me, I trust your country will not fail to support France and Russia. God bless and protect you."

Upon the day England declared war the German Chancellor (Bethmann Hollweg) in a speech to the Reichstag said:

"Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law! Our troops have occupied Luxemburg, and perhaps (as a matter of fact the speaker knew that Belgium had been invaded that morning) are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is contrary to the dictates of international law. It is true that the French Government has declared at Brussels that France is willing to respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as her opponent respects it. We knew, however, that France stood ready for the invasion. France could wait, but we could not wait. A French movement upon our flank upon the lower Rhine might have been disastrous. So we were compelled to override the just protest of the Luxemburg

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and Belgian Governments. The wrong—I speak openly—that we are committing *we will endeavor to make good* as soon as our military goal has been reached. Anybody who is threatened, as we are threatened, and is fighting for his highest possessions can have only one thought—how he is to hack his way through (wie er sich durchhaut)!"

In view of Germany's demand for the payment of a large sum of money from Brussels as "indemnity," because she objected to Germany's disregard of her justifiable protest, it is rather difficult to know just what value one should attach to the words "to make good."

The German Chancellor is mistaken. Every necessity is bound and often created by law. If there were no necessities, there would be little need for law. France and England were parties to the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality, which Germany has now* violated. Upon the day of Sedan, Napoleon Third and the French nation were in an hour of dire necessity; the calamitous surrender could have been averted by a temporary penetration into Belgium of but a few miles, but Napoleon considered the honor of his nation paramount to any military exigency, and refused to save his dynasty and army by the sacrifice of national obligations. †

* See appendix. † For Austria's side of the controversy see note p. 128.

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CHAPTER VI

THE DECLARATION OF WAR

On Tuesday, the 4th of August, Great Britain declared war upon Germany. The reasons for which this momentous step was taken are embodied in a speech delivered in the House of Commons two days later by Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, and, at that moment, the Secretary of War.

Mr. Asquith said: "In asking the House to agree to the resolution to vote £100,000,000 I do not propose, because I do not think it is necessary, to traverse the ground again which was covered by Sir Edward Grey two or three nights ago."

Mr. Asquith then read extracts from the diplomatic correspondence published on Thursday, beginning with the communication made by the German Chancellor to Sir Edward Goschen on July 29 which contained, the Prime Minister said, "the terms on which it was sought to buy our neutrality—a promise to leave France intact if beaten.

"Sir Edward Goschen," continued Mr. Asquith, "proceeded to put a very pertinent question to the German Chancellor: 'I questioned his Excellency about the French Colonies?' What are the French

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Colonies? They mean every part of the dominions and possessions of France outside the geographical area of Europe. The Chancellor said he was not able to give such an undertaking with regard to those colonies as he was prepared to give in regard to French territory.

"Let me come to what in this matter in my opinion is the crucial and governing consideration, namely, the position of the small states. As regards Holland, his Excellency said so long as Germany's adversaries respected the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands, Germany was ready to give his Majesty's Government an assurance that she would do likewise.

"Then I come to Belgium. It depended upon the action of France what operations Germany would be forced to enter upon in Belgium, but when the war was over Belgium's integrity would be respected if she had not sided against Germany. Let the House observe the distinction between the two cases. An assurance is given as regards the independence and neutrality of Holland, but as regards Belgium there is no mention of neutrality at all, but an assurance that when the war is over her integrity will be respected if she had not sided against Germany.

"What does this all amount to? I ask the House not with the object of inflaming passions, not with

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the object of exciting feeling against Germany, but simply to make clear the position of the British Government. What did the proposal amount to? In the first place, it meant that behind the back of France, who was not to be made a party to these communications at all, we should have given, if we had assented to these proposals, a free license to Germany to annex in the event of a successful war the whole of the extra-European dominions in the possession of France.

"What did it mean as regards Belgium? To Belgium, when she addressed, as she did in the last three days, the moving appeal to us to fulfill our solemn guarantee of her neutrality, what was our position: What reply could we have given to that appeal if we were obliged to say that without her knowledge we had bartered away to the Powers which threatened her an obligation to keep our plighted word?

"The House and the country have read in the course of the last few hours the pathetic words of the Belgian King to his people. I do not think any man can have read that appeal with an unmoved heart. The Belgians are fighting—losing their lives. What would have been the position of Great Britain today in the face of that spectacle if we had assented to this infamous proposal? What were we to get in return for this betrayal of our

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friends and this dishonouring of our obligations? We were to get promises, nothing more, promises made by a Power which, I am very sorry to say, was at that very moment announcing its intention to violate its own treaty and was asking us to do the same. If we had done that this country would have been forever dishonoured.

"I am entitled to say on behalf of this country—I speak not for a party but for the country as a whole—that we made every effort any Government could possibly make, and that war has been forced upon us. What is it that we are fighting for? No one knows better than the Government the terrible, the incalculable suffering, economic, social, personal, political, which war, and especially war between the Great Powers of the world, must entail.

"There is not a man among us sitting on this bench (*i. e.*, an adherent of the party in power) in these trying days—more trying perhaps than any body of statesmen for a hundred years has had to pass through—who has not during the whole of this time had clearly before his vision, the suffering, the almost brutal suffering, which war must bring not only to us who are living in this country and in the other countries of Europe, but to posterity and the whole prospect of European civilization. Every step we took we took

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with that vision before our eyes and with that responsibility which it is impossible to describe in words.

"If in spite of all our efforts for peace and with that full and overpowering consciousness of the results, if the issue were decided in favour of war, we have thought it nevertheless to be the duty as well as the interest, of this country to go to war, the House may be well assured it is because we believe we were unsheathing our sword in a just cause. If I am asked what we are fighting for I can reply in two sentences. In the first place, to fulfill a solemn international obligation—an obligation which if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life would have been regarded as an obligation not only law but of honour, and which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. I say, secondly, that we are fighting to vindicate the principle, in these days when material force sometimes seems to be the dominant influence and factor in the development of mankind, that small nationalities are not to be crushed in defiance of international good faith at the arbitary will of a strong and over-mastering Power.

"I do not think any nation ever entered into a great conflict—and this is one of the greatest that history will ever know—with a clearer conscience

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and a stronger conviction that it is fighting not for aggresion, not for the maintenance of its own selfish interests, but in defence of principles the maintenance of which is vital to the civilization of the world. If with full conviction not only of the wisdom and justice but of the obligation which lay upon us to challenge this great issue, if we are entered into the struggle, let us now make sure that all the resources, not only of the United Kingdom but of the vast Empire of which it is the center shall be thrown into the scale.

"It is that that object may be adequately secured that I am now about to ask this committee to give the Government a vote of credit for a hundred millions sterling. As rule in the past votes of this kind have been taken simply for naval and military operations, but we have thought it right to ask the House that this money may be applied not only for strictly naval and military operations but for assisting the food supply, promoting the continuance of trade, industry, business, and communication, whether by means of insurance or indemnity against risk or otherwise, for the relief of distress and generally for all expenses arising out of the existence of a state of war.

"I believe the committee will agree with us that it was wise to extend the ambit of the vote of credit in this way. It gives the Government a free

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hand. Of course, the Treasury will account, and any expenditure that takes place will be subject to the approval of the House, but it would be a great pity, and even a great disaster, if in a crisis of this magnitude we were not enabled to make provision, far more needed now than under the simpler conditions which prevailed in the old days, for all the expenditure which the existence of a state of war between the Great Powers of Europe must entail upon any one of them.

"I am asking also in the character which I possessed until this morning, that of Secretary of State for War, for a Supplementary Estimate for men in the army. Allow me to say—it is a personal matter—that I took upon myself the office of Secretary of State for War under conditions—I won't go back to them—which are fresh in the memory of everybody, in the hope and with the object that a condition of things in the army which all of us deplored might speedily be brought to an end and complete confidence re-established. I believe that is the case. I know it is the case. There is no more loyal and united body, no body in which the spirit and habit of discipline is more deeply engrained and cherished than in the British army.

"Glad as I should be to continue the work of the office, and would have done so under normal con-

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ditions, it would not be fair to the army or just to the country that any Minister should divide his attention between that department and the other, and still less that the first Minister of the Crown, who has to look into the affairs of all the departments and is ultimately responsible for the whole policy of the country, should give, as he can only give, a perfunctory attention to the affairs of our army in a great war.

"I am glad to say that the very distinguished soldier and administrator, Lord Kitchener, with the public spirit and patriotism which everyone would expect from him, at my request has stepped into the breach. Lord Kitchener, as everybody knows, is not a politician. His association with the Government as a member of the Cabient for this purpose must not be taken as in any way identifying him with any set of political opinions. He has, in a great public emergency, responded to a great public call, and I am certain he will have with him, in the discharge of one of the most arduous tasks which have ever fallen to a Minister, the complete confidence of men of all parties.

"I am asking on his behalf, for the army, power to increase the number of men of all ranks, in addition to the number already voted, by no less than a half a million. I am certain the House will not refuse us that. We are encouraged to ask for

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it not only by our own sense of the gravity and the necessities of the case, but by the knowledge that India is prepared to send us certainly two divisions, and every one of our self-governing dominions spontaneously and unasked, has already tendered to the utmost limit of their possibilities, both in men and in money, every help that they can afford to the Empire in a moment of supreme trial. The Mother-country must set the example while she responds with gratitude and with affection to these filial overtures from the outlying members of our family.

"This is not an occasion for controversial discussion. In what I have said I believe I have not gone beyond the strict requirements of the truth. It is not my purpose, it is not the purpose of any patriotic man, to inflame feeling, to indulge in rhetoric, to excite international animosities. The situation is far too grave for that. We have got a great duty to perform. We have got a great trust to fulfill, and I am confident that Parliament and the country will enable us to do it."

Mr. Bonar Law said he would have liked to leave Mr. Asquith's speech as the expression of the views of a nation and not of a party, but he thought it well that the atittude of the opposition should be defined to the country. "In our belief we are in a state of war against our will and after

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we as a nation had done everything in our power to prevent such a condition of things arising." He had said that he never believed that a war with Germany was inevitable and that if it came it would be due to human folly. "It is due to human folly and to human wickedness," he observed impressively, "but neither the folly nor the wickedness is here.

"For years everyone has known that the key of peace or war lay in Berlin, and at this crisis Berlin, if it had chosen, could have prevented this terrible conflict. But I am afraid the miscalculation that was made about Russia ('Russia is not in a condition to go to war,' the German ambassador said), was made about us. The despatch which has been referred to is not one that would have been addressed to us if it had been believed that our hand was free and that we held the position which we had always held before. We are fighting, as the Prime Minister has said, for the honour, and with the honour has always been bound up the interest of the country, but we are fighting also for the whole basis of the civilization for which Europe stands.

"Look at the way in which Belgium is being treated today! If it is not true now it may be true tomorrow, that the city of Liege is invaded by the Germans and that civilians, as in the days of the

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Middle Ages, are fighting for their hearths and homes against trained troops. In a state of war, war must be waged, but this plan is not of today or yesterday. It has been long matured. The Germans were ready to take the course which they have taken of saying to Belgium: 'Destroy your independence; let our troops go through or we will come down upon you with a might which it is impossible for you to resist.' It we had allowed that to be done our position as one of the great nations of the world would have been lost. This is no small struggle. It is the greatest perhaps that this country has been engaged in, and the issue is uncertain. It is Napoleonism once again, but, thank Heaven, so far as we know there is no Napoleon."

Passing from the cause of the war, Mr. Bonar Law turned to the question of food supply, repeating the comforting assurance that there was no danger of scarcity, but only the danger of a fear of scarcity. He sounded one note of warning. "This war, unexpected by us, is not unexpected by our enemies, and I shall be greatly surprised if we do not find that at first on our trade routes there is a destruction of our property. That is inevitable, I think, at the outset. Let us be prepared for it, and let us realize that it has no bearing whatever on the ultimate course of the war."

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He did not wish to be unduly optimistic but he felt there was a real danger of our taking too gloomy a view of the situation. "Five-sixths of our production is consumed in the home trade. After all, the total amount of our exports to the European countries now at war is only a small part of our export trade. In my belief—I have not looked at the figures—they do not exceed the exports to India and Australia taken alone. If our trade routes are maintained we shall have our trade with the colonies and with the North American Continent, and unfortunately for them none of our enemies will be able to compete with us in those markets. I think, therefore, that while we have no right to believe that trade will be good, it will be much more nearly normal than is generally believed." Finally Mr. Bonar Law said any member of the opposition would be glad to serve the Government and the country to the best of his ability if his assistance was desired.

When the motion for the war credit of £100,000,000 was put not a single voice was raised against it, and it was declared carried amid loud cheers.

Without discussion the House voted 500,000 additional men for the army and 67,000 for the navy.

A proclamation was issued on Tuesday night

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prohibiting the exportation of war stores and goods from the United Kingdom.

A formal declaration of war upon Austria was made by Great Britain upon August 12.

On the 23rd of August Japan declared war upon Germany, and commenced a bombardment and siege of Kiaochow, Germany's only possession on the Yellow Seas; it is leased from China, comprises about 200 square miles with a white population of about 5,000. As in all such cases, the white population is strictly German. Germany's colonies are only for exploitation by Germany. Japan's action is of inestimable importance to Great Britain as it relieves that country of any embarrassment in connection with the protection of her Indo-Chinese trade.

On September 4, Russia, France and Great Britain signed an agreement that none of the three would make peace without the consent of all three nations. Following is the text of the protocol:

"The undersigned, duly authorized thereto by their respective governments, hereby declare as follows:

"The British, French, and Russian Governments mutually engage not to conclude peace separately during the present war. The three governments agree that when the terms of peace come to be

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discussed, no one of the allies will demand conditions of peace without the previous agreement of each of the other allies.

"In faith whereof the undersigned have signed this declaration and have affixed thereto their seals.

"Done at London, in triplicate, this fifth day of September, 1914.

"E GREY,

"British Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

"PAUL CAMBON,

"French Ambassador to Great Britain.

"BENCKENDORFF,

"Russian Ambassador to Great Britain."

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CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND'S COLONIES

In her hour of peril, Britain's children, "beyond the seas," have rallied to her aid.

Upon the eve of the war, Canada, through the Duke of Connaught, despatched the following message from Ottawa to the home government:

"My Government (the Canadian Government) desire me to send you the following:

"My advisers, while expressing the most earnest hope that a peaceful solution of existing international difficulties may be achieved, and their strong desire to cooperate in every possible way for that purpose, wish me to convey to his Majesty's Government the firm assurance that, if unhappily war should ensue, the Canadian people will be united in a common resolve to put forth every effort and to make every sacrifice necessary to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of our Empire."

The Governor of New Zealand cabled:

"With great enthusiasm and with the acclamation of all parties in Parliament tonight the Prime Minister made a declaration, which was seconded by Sir Joseph Ward, to the effect that, if necessity unfortunately arose, New Zealand was prepared

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to send her utmost quota of help in support of the Empire. I am desired to convey these sentiments to his Majesty the King and to the Imperial Government.

"I will telegraph both utterances later."

Australia and India have sent similar assurances.

These promises of aid were rapidly fulfilled. At the end of September, a completely equipped Indian Army of 70,000 men commanded by British officers landed at Marseille and were rushed to the fighting line near Paris.

On October 1st, 31,300 Canadian soldiers and 8,000 horses were embarked at Rimouski (on the St. Lawrence) for some port in the English channel.

Thirty-one ships were required to carry the men, the guns, the horses and the supplies of the overseas expeditionary force. To convoy that number of ships a fleet of eleven war vessels was requisitioned, the whole movement being the largest and most important ever effected.

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CHAPTER VIII
THE LAND FORCES

Napoleon began his Russian campaign in 1812 with an army 600,000 strong, made up of contingents from France, Italy, the minor German States, Holland, Poland, Switzerland, the Adriatic provinces, and elsewhere. Rumania, with a population of seven millions, could mobilize a larger force than this cosmopolitan host which Napoleon drew from half Europe. The great battles of Blenheim, Austerlitz, Jena, and the rest were fought with armies which represented less than 1 per cent, sometimes not half or a quarter per cent, of the peoples whose fate they decided. The Germans call the battle of Leipzig the Volkerschlacht, the Battle of the Nations. The nations were Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, with a combined population which could not have been less than 120,000,000. They opened the campaign with an army of about 500,000 men, which is not much more than Bulgaria sent into the field against Turkey.

Compare with these figures those of the armed multitudes which are now to be arrayed against one another. The full war strength of Russia when mobilization is complete will be over

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5,000,000 of men. That of Great Britain, excluding her colonies, and India, 600,000; that of Germany approximately 4,000,000; that of France, under the new military system, should be well over 3,500,000; that of Austria-Hungary between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000; Servia is supposed to be able to put into the field between 300,000 and 400,000 men. Here we get the truly colossal total of something like 14,000,000 of men embodied for military service. They will not all be in the fighting line, of course; they will not even be all armed; many of the contingents of the Austrian Landsturm reservists up to the age of forty-two, whom the Emperor has called out, are unarmed and unregimented. But they will all be brought away from their ordinary occupations; they will be withdrawn from productive industry; they will be at the disposal of the military authorities; the great majority of them will be taking part in the campaigns, either at the front or in holding lines of communication, garrisoning fortresses, guarding war-like stores, depots, and prisoners, acting as gendarmerie and special police to maintain internal order; or assisting in the transport, supply, medical, and technical services. To the 14,000,000 of men we may add perhaps another million of women, who will be in the Red Cross detachments and at the base hospitals, or even with the field ambulances.

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Such is the first tremendous draft which modern warfare makes upon the human resources of the belligerent peoples.

In the past the comparatively small armies of professional or mercenary soldiers could conduct their operations without making the heaviest inroads upon the general vitality. A great part of the territory might remain almost unaffected, though 100,000 men were fighting in one corner. The armies marched and countermarched, leaving a broad ribbon of devastation on either side of their track; but for the mass of the population daily life could be maintained under something like normal conditions. The peasant hoed and reaped, the trader sold his wares, though the blood-tax lay heavy upon them both. Even in France, in the very stress of the Napoleonic wars, it is strange to find from the memoirs of the period how little the ordinary framework of society had been disturbed; and in England, says Mr. Sidney Low, in the *London Daily Mail*, "we went on with our country life, our busy urban industry, our sports, our amusements, our political controversies, all through the great struggle. In the very thick of the fight we found time to vote at parliamentary elections, to attend boxing matches and race meetings, to read Scott and Byron."

In the new war it must be otherwise. There is

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not a household, a workshop, a farm, a peasant's cottage that will not be involved directly in the operations. In a country like Servia every adult man between the ages of twenty and fifty will be in arms. Servia may not feel that so much as communities with a more complex civilization. But what of Germany, Austria, France? If ever 3,000,000 men are embodied under the tricolour of the Republic, that means that one male Frenchman out of three, of all ages and classes, will be in the ranks. There will not be a family in France which has not a father, a husband, a son, a brother, a breadwinner of some kind withdrawn from his home and work, turned into a purely military instead of a social and industrial unit for so long as the campaign may endure.

And the new warfare differs from the old not merely in the numbers engaged but in the conditions under which it is conducted. In the past the armies were to a great extent self-supporting or locally supplied. True, munitions of war and many other things had to be forwarded to them, and there was "post-haste and romage through the land," even in Shakespeare's time, to keep them equipped. But in these days the whole energies of the nation must be employed on the work. Though the fighting may be performed on the Danube, or the Vistula, or among the passes of the Vosges, there

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will not be a railway porter in the centre of Germany or the remote interior of Russia who will not be concerned in it.

To keep the host of three or four millions armed, clothed, doctored, and provisioned the entire energies of the entire non-combatant population must be engaged. Not a letter can be posted in a Vienna suburb, not a pint of petrol sold in a Berlin grocery, without regard to the military necessities. From Vladivostock to Brest every railway time-table, if, indeed, any trains other than troop trains are run at all, must be regulated by the same considerations. In China when the Japanese were winning their easy victories over the Imperial troops it is said that there were many millions of peasants who did not know there was a war and had never heard of Japan. That is how things may be when society is still in the stable, primitive state, when war is an affair of Government and soldiers. But with the war of the peoples, such as the allies are now facing, there is no house that will be spared, though it be hundreds of leagues from the place of slaughter, there is no man or woman who will be left untouched.

This is the real problem that lies before the Governments of the Continent of Europe, if not that of England. War has been closely studied in all its aspects for years past by the strategists, the

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scientists, the tacticians. But have they seriously worked out the results of the social and economic disorganization that must ensue upon this levee en masse of entire populations? Nobody, indeed, can forecast what will happen when three hundred millions of civilized people are confronted with a cataclysm for which the past can offer no parallel. But it is on these factors, appalling and incomprehensible in their magnitude, more even than on the skill of the generals or the valor of the soldiers, that the issue of the world-conflict will turn.

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CHAPTER IX

THE SEA POWER

Upon the 31st day of July, 1914, four days before England declared war, her huge fleet left the shores under "secret" orders. The destination of this huge "armada" may be readily guessed, when we remember the function of England's navy. It is to safeguard England's seaborne commerce and to keep open to her carriers the highways through which her supplies must travel—supplies not only of food but of fighting men from her distant colonies. This purpose could only be served by destroying Germany's powerful navy or "bottling it up" in its home waters at Hamburg, Wilhelmshaven, Cuxhaven and Kiel.

The "Home Fleet" thus sent forth was the largest ever assembled under one flag. It was manned by more than two hundred thousand men. It comprised sixty battleships; twelve battle cruisers; fifty-four cruisers; one hundred and eighty-four torpedo vessels, fifty-eight submarines and ninety-five auxilliary craft.

If England succeeds in thus impounding the German fleet and keeping it in this comparatively innocuous condition until the close of the war, her vast expenditures incurred in the maintenance of

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her naval supremacy may be justified by attributing to it the preservation of her national life.

Great Britain now has "in commission" sixty battleships, twenty of which are of the "dreadnaught" or "super-dreadnaught" type. The smallest of these twenty heavy gun ships are the "Agamemnon" and "Lord Nelson," launched, respectively, six and five years ago; they are each of 16,000 tons displacement, 16,750 horse-power and have a coal capacity of 2,500 tons. Speed 18 knots, 4 to 12 inches of armor belt and from 8 to 12 inches protection shields for the big guns. The armament consists of 4 12-inch, 10 9.2-inch and 24 3-inch rapid fire, and 5 machine guns. They have 5 torpedo tubes. In the same year that the "Lord Nelson" left the stocks (1909), three ships of the same type were launched but they were of 18,600 tons displacement, greater speed (21 knots), and of heavier armament and horse-power; and so, each succeeding year has witnessed an almost—but not quite—uninterrupted increase in these four features; size, armament, speed and horse-power, culminating in the "Queen Mary" with a displacement of 27,000 tons, 28 knots speed and 75,000 horse-power.

Even more powerful than the "super-dreadnoughts" are the ten new "battle cruisers," nine of which are being rushed to completion and one

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of which, "The Tiger," is afloat. She has 28,000 tons displacement, speed of 30 knots and turbines capable of putting forth 110,000 horse-power with correspondingly greater bunker capacity and armament.

In active service there were at the beginning of hostilities thirty-four armored crusiers of high speed to be used for general service; scouting supplies, commerce destroying. They are unable, for lack of sufficient armament, to cope in battle with a German battleship, but have sufficient speed (21 knots) to out-foot most of them. The Aboukir, Cressy and Hogue, destroyed by a German submarine while this book was in press, were of the six earliest and least efficient vessels of this type.

An important arm of the service is represented by two hundred and thirty-two destroyers, of which one hundred and thirty-four are the sea-going type, oil burners and of a speed of from 30 to 35 knots. All exceed 700 tons displacement, sixteen of them are from 120 to 1,350 tons. One (the Swift) has a displacement of 2,170 tons, 30,000 horse-power and a speed of 36 knots. The destroyers are armed with 4-inch guns and carry 21-inch torpedo tubes. The torpedoes have a range of about five nautical miles at an average speed of 24 knots.

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The Navy of France ranks fourth in the world. It is probable that the part played by the French ships in the war will be extremely inconspicuous and supremely useful as it will liberate British ships from the Mediterranean and allow Great Britain to concentrate almost her entire naval strength where it is most needed; the English Channel and the North Sea.

The naval strength of Austria may be disregarded as the overwhelming preponderance of French "sea power" in the Mediterranean make the few battleships and cruisers belonging to the dual-monarchy a negligible factor. Russia's naval force may be as summarily dismissed. The most useful function of the Russian ships is being performed in laying mines to protect Russian harbors.

Germany's naval strength to that of Great Britain is about as five to eight. The difference is in numerical preponderance. Ships of the two countries of the same class compared, ship to ship, show but little differences.

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CHAPTER X

THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE GREAT POWERS

War nowadays is a matter of finance as well as of arms, and in a prolonged campaign financial resources would count as much as military skill.

The importance of the financial factor has never been more obvious than it is now, when the threat of a great European war has thrown every Continental Bourse into a state of demoralization and paralysis. London alone has refrained so far from suspending its financial functions, and even here the panic on the Continent has produced an unprecedented restriction of dealing.

When so vital a part of the financial structure is in danger of breaking down, all the usual data that go to indicate a nation's financial resources become to a great extent valueless, but they are still of use for purposes of rough comparison.

Of the amount of hard cash that the countries of Europe have at their command the returns of the State banks are the best guide we have. According to the last weekly returns these are the amounts of coin and bullion held by the central banks of the five greatest Powers:

Austria	$321,000,000
France	948,500,000

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Germany	$422,500,000
Great Britain	201,000,000
Russia	872,500,000

These could only become available as a war chest if their primary functions as a backing for paper currency and credit were suspended. They are of greatest value when exercising those functions. Although Britain's central gold reserve is the smallest, it is, as a matter of fact, the most valuable because it forms the backing of an immense volume of credit of international value. It is only on the assumption that this great credit system would entirely fall to the ground that England should have to fall back upon her gold reserve in paying for the munitions of war.

Until this almost inconceivable contingency occurs credit rather than actual possession of gold must be the main source of the wherewithal for military operations. Even Germany's special war chest of $30,000,000 counts for little while credit lasts.

Despite the serious depreciation that has occurred in British Government securities, that country still commands a higher degree of credit than any Continental country. The best guide to the comparative credit enjoyed by the various Powers is afforded by this statement of the yield of interest obtainable on their leading stocks at current prices:

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	Interest Yield at Present Price.
Austria	4.9 %
France	3.9 %
Germany	4.16%
Great Britain	3.5 %
Russia	5 %

This, roughly speaking, means that Great Britain can raise money on terms 15 per cent cheaper than Germany.

Moreover, in considering the comparative ability of European countries to raise money it must be remembered that the existence of a great war in Europe would limit each Power's credit to its own territories and those of its friends and allies. Austria and Germany would not be able to raise money in England or France. And England and France are the world's great lending countries. The amount of money raised in England and in France year by year for the use of our own enterprises and those of foreign countries is immeasurably greater than the corresponding amount raised in other European countries. These great resources would be entirely at the disposal of the British and French Governments, for in no countries are the holders and controllers of the purse-strings more patriotic.

It is in the light of these actual new credit resources that the existing national debts tabulated in the following statement be considered:

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Austria	$3,970,000,000
France	6,575,000,000
Germany	3,705,000,000
Great Britain	3,535,000,000
Russia	4,500,000,000

I have included Hungary's debt with the Austria's and Prussia's with that of the German Empire.

One factor that seriously prejudices the borrowing powers of Germany and Austria is the extent to which they have made use of these powers in times of peace. During the past ten years, while Great Britain has been paying off debt, Germany and Austria-Hungary between them have increased their national debts by the enormous sum of about $1,500,000,000.

In fact, as far as financial resources go, all the evidences are in favour of Great Britain. The events of the past week have served to emphasize the sounder foundation on which her financial markets are built. With practically every Continental Bourse either entirely or partly suspended, the London Stock Exchange was able to continue its operations in face of the difficulties seriously augmented by the paralysis of business abroad. What applies to the Stock Exchange is true to a far greater degree of the banks and the money market.

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In Germany, at the beginning of the war, there was everywhere a tremendous rush for gold and a tremendous rush for food supplies. For some days, the private banks having already refused cash, the Imperial Bank was so besieged that the doors were shut early in the morning, and it was stated that the officials already had more business than they could handle before closing time. The food shops made a wanton harvest for a few days, doubling, for instance, the price of salt and sugar, and charging famine prices for loaves and fancy prices for tinned provisions. In reality, as regards the monetary situation, there seemed to be remarkable confidence, at any rate until the news of the increase of the English Bank rate to 8 per cent, which struck financiers like the news of a lost battle. As regards food there can be no pinch yet. A great deal depends upon the getting in of the splendid harvest.

Germany is making an astounding drain upon her financial reserves and her credit system, and creating a situation which may be tolerable in victory, but will be appalling in defeat. It must not be forgotten that they are the preparations of a country which only last year was afraid or unable to raise any more ordinary taxes, and proceeded to a direct confiscation of capital by way of the "levy"—little or any of which, by the way,

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has yet been collected. About the collection of taxes and of the "levy" nothing definite is known at the time of writing. The tax-collectors have for the moment been commandeered by the military authorities to arrange for the billeting of troops. In Berlin they were making a census of accommodation.

The Reichstag on the 4th of August passed without discussion seventeen emergency bills. The first authorizes extraordinary expenditure to the amount of $1,825,000,000—$1,250,000,000 from loan and $75,000,000 from the Empire's stock of gold and silver. I will try to group the most important of the other measures, taking the financial measures first.

The German bank law, in order to counteract an excess of bank-notes, makes the Imperial Bank pay a tax of 5 per cent of the amount by which its notes in circulation exceed the stock of cash. This provision has now been suspended for an indefinite period. In peace time the Imperial Bank must cover the notes in circulation which are not covered in cash by discounted bills with a currency of not more than three months and backed by three or at any rate two good names. These restrictions have been removed, and the Imperial Bank of Germany can now buy bills with only one signature. Further, the Bank is now allowed

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to cover its note issue not only by discounted bills but by any Imperial acceptances which fall due within three months.

All the legal paper money issued by the Imperial Bank now becomes legal tender, and there is no distinction left between actual "bank-notes" and other paper. The Imperial Bank has been relieved of its obligation to hand out gold in exchange for its paper. The private note-issuing banks are relieved of their obligation to give gold in exchange for their notes and are allowed to give Imperial bank-notes instead. These provisions take effect not from the declarations of war but from July 31, when the Kreigszustand was declared. In peace time the Imperial Bank in Berlin and its branches at Frankfort-on-Main, Konigsberg, and Munich are compelled to give gold in exchange for parcels of silver coins to the amount of not less than $50, or of nickel or copper coins to the amount of not less than $12.50. These obligations are now suspended by an amendment of the Coinage Law. This is mainly a precautionary measure.

At present the Imperial Bank is engaged in satisfying the demand for silver and nickel from its extraordinary resources, rather than fearing a demand for gold in exchange for silver and nickel. But it is calculated that, when the first rush of adjustments of accounts among the public has

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passed, there will be a fresh effort to turn the accumulations of silver and nickel into gold. The Empire is enabled for an indefinite period to employ bills (Wechsel) as an additional form of credit—these bills being, of course, free from taxation. Bill and cheque transactions are in Germany subject to restrictions unknown in other countries, and there is practically no escape from the necessity to present bills and cheques immediately they fall due and to take action immediately they are dishonoured. The law has now been amended so as to protect the holders of bills from the consequences of the state of war, and especially of the interruption of postal and other communications.

In order to help industry all the restrictions of any importance which the Gewerbeordnung places upon employment and the regulation of hours of labor in particular industries have been removed. This is much as if the Factory Acts and all similar measures in England were to be suspended. The provisions of the Sick Insurance and other Imperial Insurance Laws have been adapted to the needs of war-time. The legal provisions for the support of families of soldiers have been amended. The German law fixes minimum rates of aid. The minimum rates are only—for a wife, $2.25 a month in May, June, July, August, September and October, and $3.00 a month in the other

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months of the year; for every child under 15 years of age $1.50 a month.

As already reported, the export of all important foodstuffs and fodder has been forbidden. The Government is now empowered to suspend the customs duties on food of all sorts and also to remove the restrictions on food imports—for example, of frozen meat. Powers have been given to the local authorities to fix maximum prices of foodstuffs, natural products, and fuel, and to compel sales of all stocks which the owners do not actually require for themselves. The local authorities are given complete freedom to arrange matters through the ordinary business channels or to conduct trade themselves. All costs of organization will be deducted from the maximum prices paid to holders of stocks. Practically all, if not all, the German produce bourses are closed; there is in Germany no provision for premature settlement of long-term contracts, and therefore a law has been passed enabling the Government authorities to intervene whenever necessary and close bargains at prices which they will fix—the difference between the prices so fixed and the contract prices being paid by buyer or seller respectively according as the contract price is higher or lower than the price fixed.

Perhaps the most remarkable bill of all is that

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for the granting—up to a total amount of $375,000,000—of loans on all sorts of stocks and securities. In connection with the Imperial Bank special loan institutions will be set up which will issue special paper (Darlehnskassenscheine). This paper will be honored by the Imperial Bank and have the same status as banknotes, although the public is not obliged to accept it in payment. The loans will run as a rule from three months and exceptionally for six months. The "loan" paper will be issued in notes of $1.25, $2.50, $5 and $12.50. Loans can be effected on all sorts of (not perishable) trade stock and industrial products up to one-half or even two-thirds of the assessed value; upon all sound German stocks and shares up to something less than the market quotation; and upon any other securities which the authorities choose to accept. In the case of goods which are subject to wide fluctuations of price, the security of a third person must be given. The procedure will simply be that the loans will be arranged by negotiation and that the authorities will, without removing stock given as security, place their seal upon it.

There was a modest scheme of this sort in 1870, but the whole amount then involved was only $22,500,000 as compared with the present sum of $375,000,000. The rate of interest is, as a rule,

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to be something above the published rate at which the Imperial Bank discounts bills. It is no doubt a wonderful scheme of relief—and it should be added that the loan establishments will do business down to an amount so small as $25. But, once again, one wonders what appalling consequences will result if the war drags on and trade remains at a standstill.

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CHAPTER XI

FOOD SUPPLIES OF THE BELLIGERENT POWERS

Europe, apart from Russia, imports annually 500,000,000 bushels of wheat.

Great Britain produces about 20 per cent of the wheat she consumes—250,000,000—so, that country alone, accounts for 200,000,000 of Europe wheat imports. She imports annually 1,000,000,000 pounds of beef and vast stores of mutton. Germany consumes 300,000,000 bushels, and raises 170,000,000. Hitherto she has drawn upon Russia, Roumania and America. Part of this supply will now be cut off, maybe all of it. If the United States insists that neutral vessels laden with wheat labelled for Holland ports, but intended for delivery in Germany are exempt from seizure, and England acquiesces in that view, Germany's position will be greatly simplified. In any event, Russia is entirely independent of outside food supplies; and France largely so; last year she only imported 30,000,000 bushel of oats.

This brings us to Germany's gravest predicament—fodder for her horses; she has been importing 50,000,000 bushels of oats and 100,000,000 of barley, nearly all from Russia! Forage is so easily destroyed by fire that it is difficult to conceive

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of an invading force finding hay or grain in invaded territory.

To summarize: Europe (excluding Russia) has a deficit of wheat, 500,000,000 bushels, of oats, 200,000,000 bushels, of corn, 200,000,000 bushels.

If the United States is instrumental in creating a merchant marine which will supply Germany's needs, she may, while adding temporarily, at least, to the prosperity of her citizens, become the all-important factor in the prolongation of this war.

If the United States does successfully engage in the commercial side of this struggle, she will do so because the powers adversely affected by her action will deem it expedient to disregard the law of "seizure at sea" as it now stands. At present any vessel owned by a belligerent (and the ultimate ownership of the only vessels likely to be purchased by the United States is vested in Germany) are subject to capture even after their sale to neutrals, unless such sale took place sixty days prior to the declaration of war or the commencement of hostilities.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA.

:o:

FREE MINER'S CERTIFICATE.

:o:

№ 57703 B NOT TRANSFERABLE.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that Howard F. O'Kie of Vancouver, has paid me the sum of Three 75/100 dollars, and is entitled to all the rights and privileges of a Free Miner, from midnight on the* 12th day of Sept, A.D. 1911, until midnight on the thirty-first day of May, A.D. 1912.

Issued at VANCOUVER

SEP 13, 1911. J. Mahony

Signature of Officer issuing same.

*Insert here the date of the day immediately preceding the day on which certificate is taken out.

A permit such as the above is issued in any British colony to any white adult who applies for it. It authorizes the holder to "stake" mining claims and to kill game at any season for the purpose of providing his camp with food.

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CHAPTER XII

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

In considering the alternative consequences to the individual subjects of the countries involved in the war of 1914, one is at once impressed by their lack of proportion. If the Austro-German combination is beaten by the allies, the genius of the German people will not be repressed. The individual will not share in the misfortune of a government which is not his. The policy of England, which has been to offer equal opportunities to every white man, irrespective of political allegiance, within any portion of her vast empire, will not nor can be changed. That policy is a fundamental part of the British Constitution. The individual German prospector can still demand and receive without question his "free miner's right" in New South Wales, Canada, or the Gold Coast. The manufacturer of toy soldiers in Bavaria will still be able to market his wares abroad or to establish a factory under the British flag, and compete on even terms abroad with the native for local markets and for local labor. No matter to what cause is due this policy of the "open door" to all Caucasian races, it has been profitable to England and to civilization. It has made for the

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development of natural resources. No other colonizing power has emulated England in this respect, and no other power has been a successful colonizer. The American, with abundant employment for capital and energy, in his own country, does not realize that the broad avenues which invite him to the wheat fields of Canada have no counterpart in German or French Colonies. When the American insurance companies were expelled from Germany, after some millions of American money had been expended in the "spade work" of establishing them, it taught nothing except to the few men officially interested. Even the German has a hard time in a protectorate of his own country and wisely seeks a better market for his youth and energy under the English or American flag. An amusing instance of this policy of repression was afforded when diamonds were discovered in German Southwest Africa; such a development in an English Colony would have meant, probably, wealth for the discoverer (in the adjacent English territory he could have staked out, free, fifty claims), and a "boom" with attendant prosperity for the neighborhood in which the discovery was made. What happened when this "good fortune" visited German territory? The diamonds were declared "imperial property," a score or so of persons, including the discoverer,

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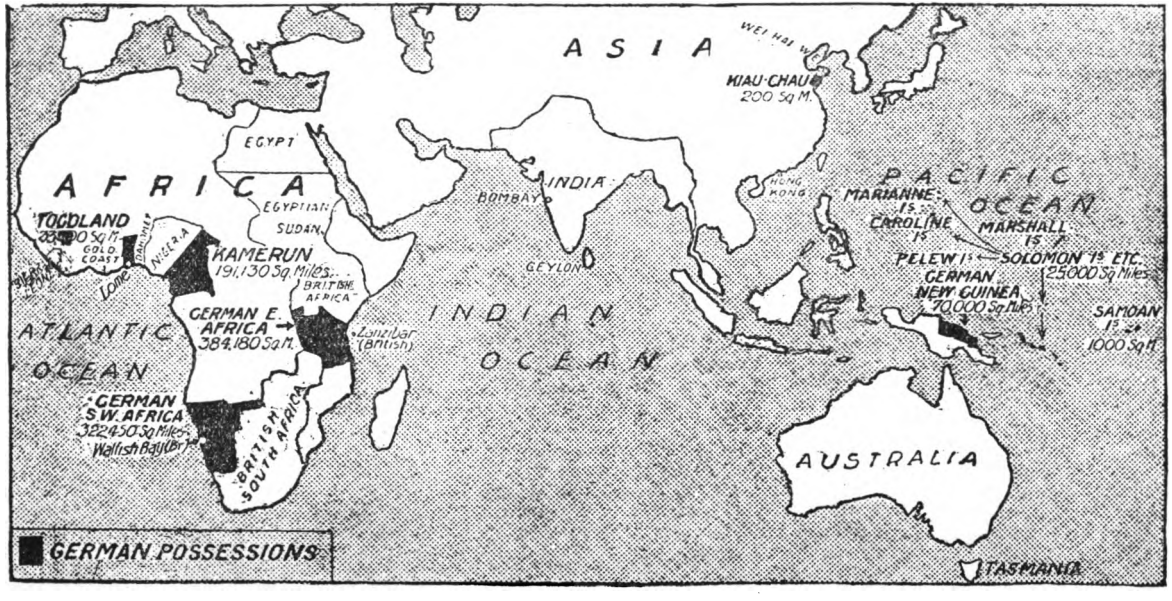

THE GERMAN COLONIES.

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were arrested, searched, and in at least one case, a trial upon a criminal charge of misappropriation under an *ex post facto* law followed in Germany. Naturally enough, little has since been heard of the diamond mines of German Southwest Africa. The German is one of the best of colonists; he is a valuable acquisition to any country; but, he is found in his highest value under an alien flag; he should not be condemned for administrative faults for which he often suffers and for which he is not responsible. If Germany loses her colonies, he, with the rest of mankind, will be the gainer.

Germany is an inefficient colonizer. Mr. Francis Gribble, in his book entitled "Francis Joseph," published in 1913, said: "The one permanent peril to European peace arises out of the hatred invariably felt for persons of German nationality by races subjected to their rule.

"The trouble with the German, whether North or South, is always this: that he regards himself as the heaven-sent ruler of men, but can, as a matter of fact, only govern in a state of siege. He can win battles, and organize a civil service; but he can neither assimilate or conciliate his subjects. The German Empire is sometimes compared (by Germans) to the Roman Empire; but the difference between the two is wide. The Romans, when they conquered the world, made it contentedly

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Roman. The French, similarly, when they took over Savoy, made it contentedly French. But no German dependency is ever contentedly German. Alsace is not; nor is Schleswig-Holstein nor Prussian Poland. In all these places, the German, in his jack-boots, strides about among a people who find his language barbarous, his 'culture' ridiculous and himself an odious interloper."

If the allies win, Belgium's autonomy and territory will be restored to her; France will regain the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which have always been Gallic at heart through the burdensome years of German occupation.

The Czar of Russia has pledged himself, in the event of German defeat, to reconstitute the kingdom of Poland. He promises to restore her ancient territorial integrity and to grant her, under his sceptre, complete autonomy, religious freedom, and the use of her national tongue. This promise reverses at a stroke that which has been the traditional policy of Russia towards Poland, at all events since the latter years of Alexander I., and it runs counter to the whole system of "Russification" upon centralized principles, which has been practised for so many years. Still more important is its bearing on the external relations of the Empire. Complicity in the partition of Poland has been the chief bond between Russia,

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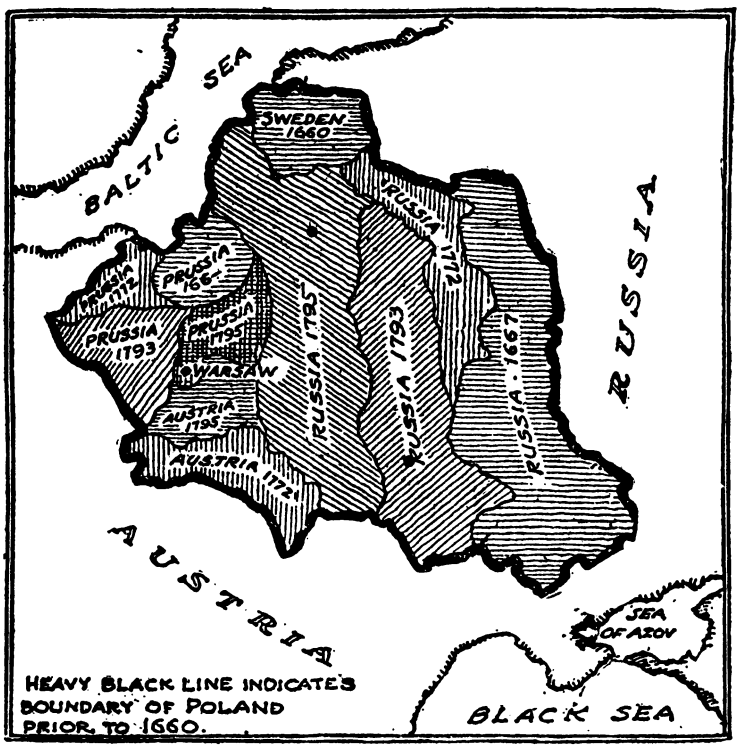
POLAND AS IT WAS—AND MAY BE.



Map Showing the Three Partitions of Poland, the Last of Which in 1795 Obliterated the Country. In 1772 Russia, Prussia and Austria All Took a Slice of Poland. In 1793 Russia and Prussia Each Took Another Piece. In 1795 Russia, Prussia and Austria Divided What Was Left From 1793. However, in 1815 the Congress of Vienna Redivided the Spoils and Gave Poland to Russia Along a Line West of Warsaw. The Section in the North marked "Sweden 1660" is now Russia.

POLAND MAY BECOME A SEMI-INDEPENDENT PRINCIPALITY AS A RESULT OF WAR.

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Prussia, and Austria since the close of the eighteenth century. Russia has burst that bond asunder so that it can scarcely be re-knit. The partakers of the spoils of Poland have regarded the repression of Polish aspirations as their common interest. Notwithstanding the solemn undertakings which they gave at the Congress of Vienna, they have denied that the fate of the kingdom and of its people concerned any but themselves. In 1846, when they delivered up to Austria the last shred of independent Poland in the tiny Republic of Krakau, they treated the remonstrances of England and France with arrogant disdain. The Polish question was theirs and theirs only, and they consulted together and acted together upon it. Russia has now thrown this entire system to the winds. The Czar appeals not only to the Poles of Russia but to the Poles of Prussia and of Austria-Hungary as well. He invites the Polish subjects of Austria and Germany to transfer their allegiance to him, and he promises them reunion with their brethren in Russia and national autonomy under the Russian sceptre as their reward. He calls upon them to undo the work of Frederick the Great and Catherine and to reconstitute their ancient kingdom in its integrity with the Emperor of Russia as its King. The integrity of Poland, if it were fully realized, would mean the

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dismemberment of Prussia and the separation of Galicia from the Hapsburg lands. It would mean the annexation of the Prussian province of Posen, the thrusting back of the Prussian border to the Mark of Brandenburg and to Pomerania. To Austro-Hungary it would mean the loss of all her territory beyond the Carpathians from Silesia to the Bukovina—and probably to the Roumanian frontier.

If, as now* seems probable, the allies prevail over the Teutons, England's attitude in the matter of Germany's future territorial limits will depend largely upon the disposition to be made of Germany's fleet; if her battleships are sold to other powers, or dismantled, England will contend strenuously for the retention by Germany of her Baltic and North Sea ports. In fact, even without naval disarmament, England will be very sensitive about the impairment of Germany's territorial limits upon the continent.

Whether this war be prolonged or suddenly abated, it is now certain that the prophecies of Austria's disintegration made by the late W. T. Stead and those of his son and successor will be fulfilled. In the event of a swift termination of the war, following the German debacle in France, the Austria-Hungary dual monarchy

* September 21, 1914

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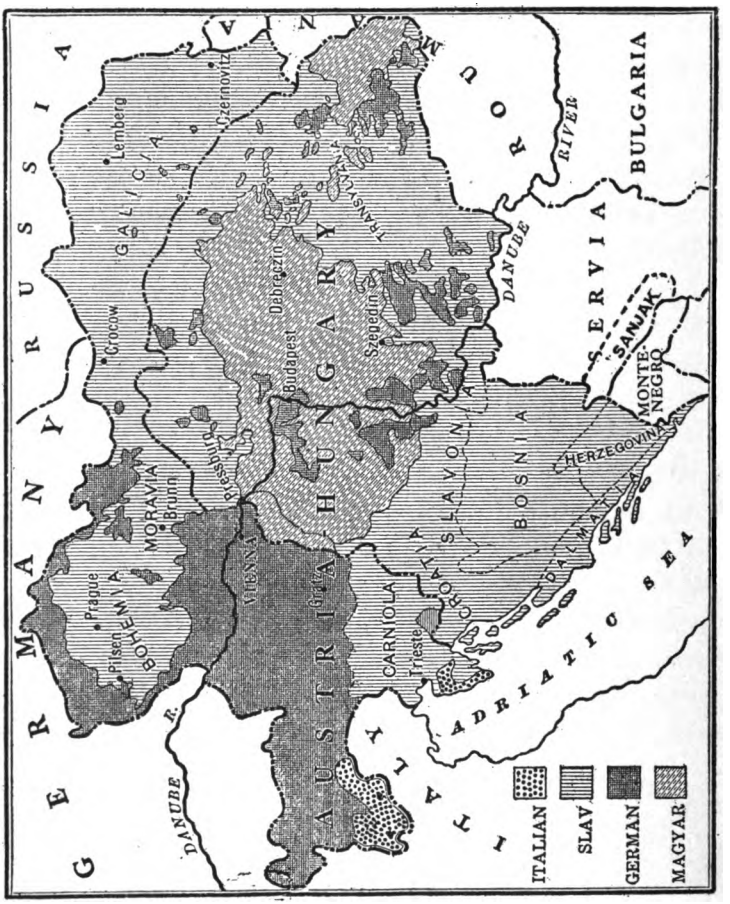

THE RACES IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

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will disappear. In all likelihood Hungary will live in the future as a free and independent state, invested as is Switzerland with a great importance so far as the conservation of European peace is concerned.

All of Galicia will be embodied in the New Poland, to the establishment of which Russia has with great prescience and opportunism, pledged herself.

That portion of Slavonic Austria, south of the River Drave and east of the fifteenth degree of longitude (this includes all of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia), will be apportioned, in the first instance at least, to Servia and Montenegro; the remainder of what was Austria will probably be incorporated with the New Germany.

Should Germany and Austria prevail over the allies, Austria will be incorporated with the German Empire, England, as the political center of the British dominions will disappear; the bond of British unity will be severed; petty English-speaking states, uncertain as to existence, will remain in the places of Australia and Canada; German militarism will over-run Europe. Brazil, already Germanized, will fall more completely under the influences of Teutonic diplomacy, and an irritating commercial war will be declared on the United States by Germany, the seat of which

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will be that great South American State; Argentina and Uruguay, now permeated by British influence, may become involved in a war with their northern neighbor, and if the latter is actively assisted by New and Greater Germany, the River Plate Republics may also find themselves under German hegemony.

Should Italy become involved in the war as an ally of the members of the *triple entente*, and at the conclusion of hostilities be among the victors, the above forecast would need revision. Certainly, Trieste, and its environs, already Italian in population, Istria and, probably, part of the Dalmatian coast would in that event, be added to the Italian territory as at present constituted.

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APPENDIX

Upon the 15th of September, 1914, the following statement was issued with the authority of Sir Edward Grey, secretary of state for foreign affairs, with regard to the communication made by Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the imperial German chancellor, to the press:

"'Does any one believe,' asks the German chancellor, 'that England would have interfered to protect Belgian freedom against France?'

"The answer is that she would unquestionably have done so. Sir Edward Grey, as reported in the White Paper, asked the French government whether it was prepared to engage to respect the neutrality of Belgium so long as no other power violated it.

"The French government replied that they were resolved to respect it. The assurance, it was added, had been given several times and had formed the subject of a conversation between President Poincare and the German chancellor, who entirely ignores the fact that England took the same line about Belgian neutrality in 1870 that she has taken now.

"In 1870 Prince Bismarck, when approached by England on the subject, admitted and respected the treaty obligations in relation to Belgium.

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"The British government stands in 1914 as it stood in 1870. It is Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg who refused to meet us in 1914 as Prince Bismarck met us in 1870. The imperial chancellor finds it strange that Mr. Asquith, in his Guild Hall speech, did not mention the neutrality of the Scandinavian countries, and suggests that the reason for the omission was some sinister design on England's part.

"It is impossible for any public speaker to cover the whole ground in each speech. The German chancellor's reference to Denmark and other Scandinavian countries can hardly be considered very tactful with regard to Denmark. The Danes are not likely to have forgotten the part played by Prussia and England, respectively, in 1863 and 1864, when the kingdom of Denmark was dismembered, and the integrity of Norway and Sweden was guaranteed by England and France in the treaty of Stockholm in 1855.

"The imperial chancellor refers to the dealings of Great Britain with the Boer republic and suggests that she has been false therein to the cause of freedom.

"Without going into controversies, now happily past, we may recall what Gen. Botha said in the South African parliament a few days ago when expressing his conviction of the righteousness of

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Great Britain's cause and explaining the firm resolve of the South African union to aid her in every possible way.

"'Great Britain had given them a constitution, under which they could create a great nationality, and had ever since regarded them as a free people and as a sister state. Although there might be many who in the past had been hostile to the British flag, he could vouch for it that they would ten times rather be under the British than under the German flag.'

"The German chancellor is equally unfortunate in his reference to the colonial empire. So far from British policy having been 'recklessly egotistic,' it has resulted in a great rally of affection and common interest by all the British dominions and dependencies, among which there is not one that is not aiding Great Britain by soldiers or other contributions, or both, in this war.

"With regard to the matter of treaty obligations generally, the German chancellor excuses the breach of Belgium's neutrality by military necessity, at the same time making a virtue of having respected the neutrality of Holland and Switzerland, and saying that it does not enter his head to touch the neutrality of the Scandinavian countries —a virtue which admittedly is only practiced in the absence of temptation from self-interest and

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military advantage does not seem greatly worth vaunting.

"To the chancellor's concluding statement, that to the German sword is intrusted the care of freedom for the European peoples and states, the treatment of Belgium is a sufficient answer."

NOTE TO PAGE 16

The following special cable appeared in the *New York Times* of September 16, 1914:

"London, Sept., 15.—Under date of Antwerp, Sunday, *The Standard* publishes this morning the following story from a correspondent, whose good faith the editor of *The Standard* guarantees, but whose name he refuses to give:

'One of the blackest pages in the invasion of Belgium is the attacking of Aerschot, and the murder of the Burgomaster and his son.

'I had the story from a resident of Aerschot, who is now a refugee in Antwerp. He said that every word was true.

'When the German troops under Gen. von Boehn entered Aerschot the one desire of the Burgomaster was to save his town and people from the dreadful fate of Louvain. He awaited the Germans at the entrance to the town, and to Gen. von Boehn made offers of hospitality.

'The General was gracious enough, and said that so long as everybody in the place showed the quietest demeanor the town and the lives of those in it were safe. If not, the reprisals would be pitiless.

'The Burgomaster offered the hospitality of his own house to the General and his office,rs and this was also accepted.

'Gen. von Boehn, with his Chief of Staff and another officer, took up their quarters under the roof of the Mayor,

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where everything possible was done for their comfort. At night the General and his officers dined with the family, consisting of the Burgomaster and his wife and their son and daughter.

'The meal progressed with every sign of geniality, and the conduct of the officers was perfectly respectful and normal, but toward the end of the dinner they drank very freely and kept on drinking afterward. By the time everybody had retired to bed the three Germans were all very much the worse for drink.

'In the early hours of the morning the members of the household were roused by a shriek from the room occupied by the daughter. The son rushed in and found his sister struggling in the arms of the Chief of Staff, who was still tipsy.

'The young man, roused to a frenzy, attacked the scoundrel. There was a firece struggle, which ended in the son shooting the Chief of Staff.

'The tragedy was witnessed by most of the household, including the male and female servants, but the shot did not arouse the General and the other officer, drunkenly asleep in their beds. The terrified household had to wait until morning for the denouement of the tragedy.

'The next morning the body of the Chief of Staff was discovered by the officer. The General was terribly cold in his wrath.

'"The price must be paid,' he said.

'The Burgomaster, his wife, son and daughter, and even the servants, pleaded pitifully, but Gen. von Boehn knew his duty.

'The Burgomaster, his son, and two men-servants were put against the wall and shot.

'The carnage in the streets, with burning, hacking, and stabbing followed.'

The Times on Monday reprinted from *The World* of

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Sunday last an interview with Gen. von Boehn, Commander of the Ninth Imperial Field Army, sent from Renaix, Belgium, on Sept. 9, by E. Alexander Powell, *The World's* correspondent at Antwerp. The interview, Mr. Powell wrote, took place at the General's request, after he had heard that Powell was collecting a list of specific, authenticated outrages by German soldiers in Belgium territory The General began by asserting that the charges against the German troops were "lies," Mr. Powell's story continued.

'Three days ago, General,' I said, 'I was at Aerschot The whole town now is but a ghastly, blackened ruin.'

'When we entered Aerschot,' was the reply, 'the son of the Burgomaster came into a room, drew a revolver, and assassinated my Chief of Staff. What followed was only retribution. The townspeople got only what they deserved.'

'But why wreak your vengence on women and children?' I asked.

'None has been killed,' the General asserted positively.

The interview went on to quote Gen. von Boehn as saying when told that Powell had seen their mutilated bodies that the women and children must have gone into the streets when firing was going on."

It would be as unwise as unfair to accept the *ex parte* statements of her enemies as conclusive proof that German troops have been guilty of individual "atrocities." So far as reported cases have been investigated the tendency of such investigation has been to disprove them. General French, himself, characterizes the charges of ill-treatment of wounded captives by German soldiers as "greatly exaggerated." The foregoing excerpt from the *New York Times* is inserted here, not for the purpose of showing any departure of the

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German army from a normal standard of soldiers' morals in time of war, but as a thoroughly authenticated set of *facts* that illustrate the peculiar attitude of German militarism where a civilian, no matter how provoked, kills, wounds, strikes or even insults a man in German uniform. Upon that point the evidence submitted above is, it is true, merely cumulative. The Official records of the recent Zabern affair have, it would seem already, thoroughly shown to the world the peculiar relation of soldier to civilian that exists today in Germany alone, among all the civilized nations.

No doubt every member of the "militant"—now the dominant—party in Germany would condemn the action of the drunken staff-officer who met his death "in a room" (according to General von Boehn), yet would emphatically agree that it was "necessary" to kill not only the brother, who had sought to protect his sister's honor, but also the other male members of the household who, by some strange course of German military reasoning, shared his responsibility though not his "guilt."

The original misdeed might have been committed by a soldier serving under any flag; but, had his comrades been American, French or English soldiers they would have regarded the action of the brother with a feeling akin to gratitude, certainly with a sense of relief.

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NOTE TO PAGES 28-69

After the first edition of this book had gone to press Austria made public the following:

Austria-Hungary looks upon this war as a purely defensive one, which has been forced on her by the agitation directed by Russia against her very existence. Austria-Hungary has given many proofs in late years of her peaceful intention. She refrained from any interference with arms in the Balkan War, though her interests were at stake. Subsequent events have proved what a serious danger the increase in territory and prestige which it brought Servia were for Austria-Hungary. Servia's ambitions have since grown and have been solely directed against the Dual Monarchy. Russia has tacitly approved of Servia's action, because Russian statesmen wish to form an iron ring of enemies around Austria-Hungary and Germany in order that Russia's grasp on Constantinople and on Asia should never again be meddled with.

Austro-Hungarian soldiers are fighting for their homes and for the maintenance of their country, the Russians are fighting to help the Russian Czar to gain the rule of the world, to destroy all his neighbors who may be dangerous to Russian ambitions. England is helping the Russians to oust her German rival. She feared for some time that German culture and German scientific methods would prove the stronger in a peaceful competition, and she now hopes to crush Germany with the help of Russia and France. And France is fighting to win back Alsace-Lorraine, to take her revenge on Germany, which the French Nation has been aiming at for the last forty-four years.

That is how Austria-Hungary looks upon the war. She

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never wished for territorial increase, she wished for peace and that her people should develop in safety.

Germany equally has nothing to gain by a war, but Germany knows that Austria-Hungary's enemies are her enemies and that the dismemberment of the Hapsburg monarchy would mean the isolation of the German Empire.

And so, after all efforts to keep Russia and England from breaking the peace of Europe had failed, she drew her sword to defend her and her allies' (ally's) interests.

Truth and honor are on the side of the two empires in this war. The unspeakable inventions and prevarications published by the French, Russian and English press in the last weeks alone must prove to the American people who can afford to tell the truth and nothing but the truth in this war.

The Austro-Hungarian and German people have a clear conscience and need fear no misrepresentation of their action."

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